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28 September 1982

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

No. 2695

## CONTENTS

## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Study of ECOWAS Economic Integration Efforts Reviewed<br>(S. K. B. Asante; WEST AFRICA, 30 Aug 82) ..... | 1  |
| ANGOLA   |    |
| National Meeting on Ideology Opens<br>(JORNAL DE ANGOLA, various dates) .....                            | 5  |
| Combat Against Petit Bourgeoisie<br>Propaganda Work Stressed   |    |
| Consultative Council on Industry Holds Meeting<br>(JORNAL DE ANGOLA, various dates) .....                | 7  |
| Goals Announced<br>'More Realistic' 1983 Plan  |    |
| Military Situation in Benguela Province<br>(JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 8 Aug 82) .....                            | 10 |
| Productivity Seen Unsatisfactory Countrywide<br>(JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 13 Aug 82) .....                      | 11 |
| TAAG Opposes IATA-Decided Price Increase<br>(JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 12 Aug 82) .....                          | 13 |
| Cahama Residents Declare Readiness To Combat Enemy<br>(JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 27 Aug 82) .....                | 14 |
| Briefs   |    |
| New Huila Municipalities   | 15 |
| Energy Minister to USSR  | 15 |

BOTSWANA

Parliament Wants Frontiers Redefined  
(Kwapeng Modikwe; DAILY NEWS, 23 Aug 82) ..... 16

CAMEROON

Cocoa Prices Up  
(CAMEROON TRIBUNE, 25 Aug 82) ..... 17

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Obiang Presents Constitution for Popular Referendum  
(WEST AFRICA, 23 Aug 82) ..... 18

Massive 'Yes' for New Constitution  
(AFRICA AFP, 27 Aug 82) ..... 20

Briefs  
First Hispanophone Conference ..... 21

GABON

Petroleum Exploitation Draft Agreements  
(L'UNION, 17-18 Jul 82) ..... 22

LESOTHO

BOSS Attempt To Discredit Defector Alleged  
(Editorial; LESOTHO WEEKLY, 6 Aug 82) ..... 23

NAMIBIA

Reportage on Alleged Secret Meeting  
(THE WINDHOEK OBSERVER, various dates) ..... 26

Summit on Hough's Farm  
Disavowal by Hough  
Denial From Mudge

De Klerk's Dismissal in Perspective  
(Leon Kok; WINDHOEK OBSERVER, 1 Sep 82) ..... 30

Colored Leader Tongue-Lashes Mudge  
(WINDHOEK OBSERVER, 1 Sep 82) ..... 33

OC Spells out the Future of SWATF  
(THE CITIZEN, 13 Sep 82) ..... 35

|  |  |    |
|--|--|----|
| Briefs   |  |    |
| Cash Problems  |  | 36 |
| Pension for Nujoma's Mother  |  | 36 |
| NIGER  |  |    |
| Kountche Addresses Conference of Cadres<br>(LE SAHEL, 5 Aug 82) .....                                  |  | 37 |
| NIGERIA  |  |    |
| Uganda Bill To Return Asian Property Termed Retrogressive<br>(Editorial; DAILY TIMES, 30 Aug 82) ..... |  | 39 |
| Task Force: Rice Shortage Story Due to Saboteurs<br>(Aliu Zubair; DAILY TIMES, 8 Sep 82) .....         |  | 41 |
| REUNION  |  |    |
| Verges Press Conference Highlights Economic Recovery Problems<br>(TEMOIGNAGES, 1 Jul 82) .....         |  | 42 |
| PCR Development Plan Described<br>(TEMOIGNAGES, various dates) .....                                   |  | 44 |
| Central Committee Resolution<br>Secretariat's Press Conference<br>Major Features of Plan               |  |    |
| SENEGAL  |  |    |
| Briefs   |  |    |
| IDB Loan   |  | 67 |
| PAIM Orientation   |  | 67 |
| SEYCHELLES   |  |    |
| In-Depth Research on Creole Language Increasing<br>(A. Toualbi; NATION, 21 Aug 82) .....               |  | 68 |
| Briefs   |  |    |
| Attorney-General Sacked  |  | 71 |
| SOMALIA  |  |    |
| SOJA Chairman Visits China<br>(Sonna; HEEGAN, 27 Aug 82) .....   |  | 72 |

SOUTH AFRICA

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Referendum on Constitutional Reforms Urged<br>(Editorial; THE CITIZEN, 7 Sep 82) .....                   | 74  |
| Hogan Joined a Conspiracy Claims State<br>(THE CITIZEN, 7 Sep 82).....                                   | 76  |
| Suppression of General Van Den Bergh's Evidence Claimed<br>(Tony Stirling; THE STAR, 21 Aug 82) .....    | 77  |
| In-Depth Study of Group Areas Act Published<br>(Lin Menge; RAND DAILY MAIL, 4 Aug 82) .....              | 80  |
| Debate on President's Council Proposals Reported<br>(Chris Freimond; RAND DAILY MAIL, 17 Aug 82) .....   | 82  |
| Heunis Denies Government Spy Action Report<br>(Jaap Theron and Murray McNally, THE CITIZEN, 13 Sep 82)   | 83  |
| Opening of Transvaal NP Congress Reported<br>(Jaap Theron; THE CITIZEN, 13 Sep 82) .....                 | 85  |
| 'Misled' Public's View of Change Examined<br>(Allister Sparks; FRONTLINE, Sep 82) .....                  | 87  |
| Nonpolitical Role of Chiefs Defended<br>(Sylvester P. Mutsvairi; FRONTLINE, Sep 82) .....                | 90  |
| Prospects for Political Compromise Explored<br>(Deon Geldenhuys; FRONTLINE, Sep 82) .....                | 91  |
| Reflections on Education, Black Pride Offered<br>(Es'kia Mphahlele; FRONTLINE, Sep 82) .....             | 94  |
| Living-Conditions in Migrant Hostels Described<br>(Benson Ntlemo; FRONTLINE, Sep 82) .....               | 96  |
| Circumstances, Implications of Shebeens Conference Discussed<br>(Jeremy Gordin; FRONTLINE, Sep 82) ..... | 100 |
| Republic Tops African Credit Stakes<br>(Aida Parker; THE CITIZEN, 7 Sep 82) .....                        | 102 |
| Soul-Searching of Afrikaner Youth Described<br>(Eban Venter; FRONTLINE, Sep 82) .....                    | 103 |
| SA Hopes for Diplomat Ties Dashed in Bangui<br>(Henry Reuter; THE STAR, 17 Aug 82) .....                 | 105 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Resettlement of Three Established Communities Planned<br>(Harry Mashabela; RAND DAILY MAIL, 16 Aug 82) ..... | 107 |
| Cancellation of Soccer Tour Raises Issues<br>(Nthato Motlana; FRONTLINE, Sep 82) .....                       | 110 |
| Future of SA International, National Sports Discussed<br>(THE CITIZEN, 7 Sep 82) .....                       | 112 |
| <b>Briefs</b>  |     |
| University Ferment   | 119 |
| Split in NP  | 119 |
| Docks 'Working Normally'   | 119 |
| Treurnight Probe   | 120 |
| Three Guilty of Treason  | 120 |
| Defector Quits SADF  | 120 |
| Artisans Quit Union  | 121 |
| Krugersdorp's CD   | 121 |
| Police Stop Suzman   | 121 |

#### UGANDA

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Minister Discusses Economic Agreements With Yugoslavia, Others<br>(Sam Serwanga; UGANDA TIMES, 30 Aug 82) ..... | 123 |
| New Banking System To Be Adopted<br>(Joshua Rubongoya and Tom Okello; UGANDA TIMES, 20 Jul 82)                  | 125 |
| Hybrid Maize Reported Becoming Major Food Crop<br>(Edward Iwanga; SUNDAY TIMES, 29 Aug 82) .....                | 127 |

#### ZAMBIA

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Housing Policy Outlined<br>(TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 27 Aug 82) .....                           | 128 |
| Judiciary Praised for Release of Detainees<br>(Editorial; DAILY TIMES, 29 Aug 82) ..... | 129 |

STUDY OF ECOWAS ECONOMIC INTEGRATION EFFORTS REVIEWED

London WEST AFRICA in English 30 Aug 82 pp 2223-2226

[Article by Dr. S. K. B. Asante]

[Text] THE PROMOTION of economic co-operation among developing countries is now a well-accepted part of the international development policy. Almost all issues in the field of international economic relations are currently subordinated to the quest for regional economic associations and groupings among more or less geographically contiguous areas. Over the past two decades more than a dozen customs and monetary unions, common markets, free trade zones, and other regional co-operative arrangements have been proposed or established in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Some of these co-operative schemes have never "gotten off the ground". Others were torn apart at a very early stage by deep political conflicts. Despite the disappointments and the very slow progress that some of these schemes have made, the countries concerned continue to display a genuine desire to negotiate with each other for economic co-operation. This process has received a great deal of impetus in recent years, particularly following the economic instability of the 1970s. In recent years, therefore, attempts at regional economic integration are in the forefront of the issues with which the trade and development policies of the developing countries are concerned.

It is against this background that we welcome a new illuminating study of ECOWAS\* as the most concrete initiative in

this direction. Written by a young, brilliant head of the University of Ife's dynamic Department of International Relations, this book is of paramount importance in that it makes a serious attempt to fill what appears to be a near vacuum of publications covering almost all aspects of this first major attempt at economic co-operation and integration in the West African sub-region cutting across divisions of language, history, and existing affiliations and institutions.

A recently-published work by John P. Renninger, *Multinational Co-operation for Development in West Africa* (1979), only examines briefly the origins and prospects of ECOWAS as one of the "numerous inter-governmental organisations that exist" in the West African sub-region with which the author is concerned.

Important issues such as free mobility of labour, equitable distribution of expected gains and losses from integration, or trade liberalisation programmes have not received adequate attention in Dr. Renninger's valuable documentary volume. Similarly, as the title implies, V. P. Diejomaoh and M. A. Iyoha's edited volume, *Industrialisation in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)* (published in 1980 for the West African Economic Association) is devoted almost solely to industrialisation in ECOWAS and therefore it does not pay sufficient attention to the other major aspects of the Community. Thus, Dr. Onwuka's book is a valuable pioneering work which addresses itself to almost all aspects of recent developments in the West African economic integration efforts.

\**Development and Integration in West Africa: the Case of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)*, by Ralph I. Onwuka (University of Ife Press, 1982) already briefly reviewed in West Africa of August 9, 1982.

This book (209 pages, excluding bibliography, etc.) can be conveniently divided into four major parts. The first (comprising chapters I-III) is necessarily a background study. Writing with great clarity and admirable brevity, Dr. Onwuka examines the relevant characteristics of West Africa as a sub-region, although he prefers to regard it as a region (p. 9), stressing, *inter alia*, the level of poverty, divergences in GNP *per capita* as well as average rate of inflation. He then groups the ECOWAS countries according to the metropolitan power with which they are linked, for detailed study. The discussion of the colonial impact from the 1930s, is both informative and useful.

Added to this is a fairly penetrating analysis of the concept of integration as a means of development. Drawing from a selective list of "developmentalist" scholars, integration and trade theorists, Dr. Onwuka does not only justify the theoretical basis for a West African economic integration; he also focuses attention on the "prevailing conditions" relevant to integration in the sub-region. He then classified the multi-national economic organisations in West Africa before the creation of ECOWAS into three "organisations with the singular motive of securing the general objective of solving one or more aspects of development problems; those economic organisations that are based on the common political and historical identification of their members; and the monetary institutions" (p. 25). Each group is discussed in detail. Hence origins and developments of such familiar commissions as the River Niger Commission, Lake Chad Basin Commission and unions like the West African Monetary Union, UDAO, UDEAO and CEAQ are covered in an admirable style. This first part of the book is not only instructive; it also offers an adequate background to the study of ECOWAS.

Part II (comprising chapters IV and V) is focused on ECOWAS proper. Writing with a rare combination of lucidity and weight, and sometimes with remarkable sharpness, Dr. Onwuka skilfully weaves the tortuous road to ECOWAS around four major regional efforts to create an economic community that cuts across language and colonial boundaries. These major attempts — from the Liberia's initiative of 1964 through the ECA-FAO-sponsored Bamako conference on co-ordination of industries, the ECA-sponsored Niamey

conference to the Nigeria-Togo initiative of April 1972 — have been discussed against the broad background of a refreshingly diplomatic history. Greater attention is focused on the "decisive Lomé meeting" of December 1973, which thoroughly examined the Nigeria-Togo West African economic integration scheme. This is perhaps the first time that the proceedings of this all-important Lomé ministerial conference have been carefully documented.

Also illuminating is the analysis of the performance of ECOWAS since its inception. Here, Dr. Onwuka adopts a "system approach" and then uses "a scaling method to determine the scope of economic responsibility of ECOWAS" (p. 93). Issues to which this method is applied to determine "the locus of decision-making" include trade liberalisation programmes, protocol relating to free mobility of persons, monetary and fiscal policies, transport and communications as well as development of energy and mineral resources. He rightly criticises the failure of the ECOWAS Treaty to incorporate "an obligation to co-ordinate or harmonise the educational and health systems of member states" (p. 108), since planning of education or manpower training and health at the regional level may help to "sustain the different levels of economic development" of the sub-region. Similarly, he questions the long delay involved in arriving at Community decisions. Interestingly enough, this subject has recently received attention in the annual report by the Executive Secretary of the Community to the May 1982 ECOWAS summit at Cotonou. Like Dr. Onwuka, Dr. Diaby Ouattara has called for a review of the Community's decision-making machinery in order "to combine thoroughness with speed of action".

The impact which the major external factors may have on the "effectiveness of ECOWAS as an institution, or on its member states individually based on past and present experiences" (p. 133) is the main theme of Part III (chapters VI and VII). The significance of external factors for the development of the peripheral countries of West Africa cannot be over-emphasised. Being former colonies, these countries are integrated with the international economic system in dependency relationships. Consequently, many decisions relating to economic development are either outside the capability of these countries or seriously affected by major

external crisis. Some of the crucial external factors, which are central to the economic developing efforts of developing countries like those of West Africa, and which have figured prominently in the North-South debate as it has evolved since the mid-1970s, have been carefully analysed. Dr. Onwuka highlights, among other things, the poor export earnings of the ECOWAS countries which occasionally create balance of trade difficulties following fluctuations in world commodity prices. Trade preferences, commodity agreements, compensatory financing and regional arrangements are discussed as "popular devices" which may help to increase the export earnings and thereby improve the capability to carry out economic development.

While Dr. Onwuka's discussion of some of these "devices" is quite penetrating, he seems remarkably uncritical in his assessment of the benefits which West African countries may derive from the trade preferences and STABEX provisions of the Lomé Convention. For a careful analysis of ACP-EEC trade patterns during the period of the Lomé regime he suggests that the Convention had little impact on ACP (ECOWAS) trade flows. Indeed, the free access to the EEC markets is not enough to ensure a rise in exports of the ECOWAS countries, which to a large degree depends on trade promotion. Thus, although in principle, the Lomé Convention is committed to take positive action to ensure effective access to EEC markets for the exports of the ACP (ECOWAS) countries, in practice, as analysed by the present reviewer in a recent study, market promotion for these products has so far proved to be disappointing. Similarly, the scheme for the stabilisation of exports receipts of the ACP countries (STABEX) is not only inadequate because of the arbitrary content of trade and listed commodities between EEC and ECOWAS countries: it also constitutes a disincentive to further forms of processing of raw materials in the ECOWAS countries since it applies primarily to raw materials.

On the other hand, Dr. Onwuka's detailed appraisal of the role and implications of technology on development process as "essential components of integration process" is both impressive and instructive. Stressing the need for technology policies for ECOWAS, he has formulated some crucial policy prescriptions and finally urges ECOWAS to take a leaf from the experience of the Andean Common Mar-

ket in this area. It is worth emphasising, however, the extent of effectiveness of the Andean experiment. For recent studies have shown that the effective implementation of the Andean "Foreign Investment Code" has been hampered, among other things, by the lack of trained personnel, of evaluation criteria, and of institutional capacities to handle the code's application, particularly in the field of technology imports. It is quite appropriate, therefore, that Dr. Onwuka has called for the need for building the necessary technical resources — engineers, architects, accountants and others — capable of conducting negotiations with foreign and Community corporations.

Part IV (chapters VIII and IX) is indeed an overview and conclusion of this study. It focuses on issues that are likely to confront the Community in the future. These include, for example, problems about equitable distribution of costs and benefits of integration, the complex issues relating to regional planning and policy, the divisive issue of location of Community industries, as well as the problems posed by the parallel existence of such regional groupings in the sub-region as the CEAO or Mano River Union.

On the whole, this skilfully-constructed and lucidly-written study comes to fill a real gap in our knowledge of ECOWAS. So far there is no other comprehensive account of the subject on this scale. Perhaps one should add that this is generally a book for the specialist student rather than the interested layman. Discussions of the complexities of the international economic system and its impact on the process of economic integration in West Africa, as well as the analysis of the use of scaling method of determine the locus of decision-making of each economic development issue, will no doubt make heavy demands on the uninitiated.

One other limitation of the book is the somewhat over-simplification of rather complex problems like the Community's industrial programme, the issue posed by the parallel existence of CEAO and ECOWAS as sub-regional groupings in West Africa, and the developments of the ECOWAS Fund since its establishment. This oversimplification may be due to the fact that the basic research for this book "was conducted from sources available in Britain" (preface). Consequently, the author was unable to consult such extremely important primary sources as (a) the Executive

Secretary's half-yearly or annual reports, (b) the series of the Community's *Official Journals*, (c) ECOWAS Policies and Programme series, and (d) the recent special studies sponsored by the ECOWAS Secretariat itself. The use of these primary sources would have helped in providing a refreshingly deeper insight into the general operation or fortunes of this fledgling organisation. Indeed, more "insightful" information is required, for example, about the problems of implementation of the Community's comprehensive trade liberalisation scheme, in particular, the issues about the harmonisation of customs documents of ECOWAS as a prerequisite for a smooth application of the scheme. Similarly, the reader of this book looks in vain for information about the "ECOWAS regional company" concept which is an important instrument of industrial development for the subregion; and the series of important meetings of heads of inter-governmental organisations in West Africa which have been held since the Monrovia gathering of January 1979 to work out a programme for co-operation between ECOWAS and such schemes as the CEAO and the Mano River Union.

Besides, as the success of integration partly depends on a conscious mobilisation of popular support, one would like to see the extent to which ECOWAS attempts to mobilise the support of interest groups in the West African subregion, in particular, the Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce, who are directly interested in and likely to be directly affected by many of the provisions of the ECOWAS Treaty and policies of the Community.

After all, economic co-operation goes far beyond treaty making, the negotiations of protocols and the establishment of institutions and machinery. Furthermore, as a pioneer study, the readers would like to see a "full print" of the ECOWAS Treaty and its relevant protocols as an appendix to the book.

But the more serious criticism of this valuable book must be directed at its production and printing. The whole study is almost spoiled by inexcusably conspicuous bad printing or inaccuracies — spelling mistakes, omission of some very "operative" phrases, clauses and sometimes whole sentences — which are just too numerous to indicate here. Surely, the University of Ile Press must be seriously censured for doing such "an injustice" to an otherwise useful scholarly work. The book will certainly benefit from a second edition, and perhaps immediately, too.

These deficiencies, however, hardly detract from the positive usefulness of what is offered. And, indeed, to carp at them would be tantamount to counting the petals of the tulip instead of observing the magnificent flower as a whole. For this is no doubt a book to be read and dipped into. Its diagrams and tables are clear and provide pointed illustrations or evidence to support the author's analysis. It should find a place on bookshelves not only in West Africa but also in the halls of learning in other parts of the world. *Development and Integration in West Africa* is to be unequivocally welcomed.

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NATIONAL MEETING ON IDEOLOGY OPENS

Combat Against Petit Bourgeoisie

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 7 Aug 82 pp 1-2

[Text] At the opening session of the First National Party Ideology Meeting, which began Thursday morning in Uige Province, Ambrosio Lukoki said that the main task of the MPLA-Labor Party is "to educate the working masses on Marxist-Leninist views and on the need to combat petit bourgeois ideology and behavior, while bearing in mind the New Man, builder of the future socialist that we are working toward in Angola."

The secretary of the Central Committee for Ideology then stressed that "ideological work is a strategic task of the party" and went on to explain that the basic objective of this work was "to make Marxism the guide for every citizen's action."

With the meeting occurring at a time when the contradictions between socialism and capitalism, between the forces for peace and democracy and the advocates of anticomunism, are growing, the party Central Committee secretary said that given the current situation in the region, only the defense of our homeland will ensure that the revolution continues.

American imperialism and South Africa's racism, he said, are jointly responsible for the war in southern Africa aimed at preventing Namibia from achieving real independence and at weakening or destroying the Angolan revolution. To prevent this from happening, the party leader pointed out that it was important to act and to carry out the order of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, according to which "defending the revolution is an ongoing, compulsory job for everyone."

The meeting, which was chaired by the secretary for ideology of the Central Committee, reviewed the activities of the first half of this year, the operations of the Ideology Departments of the provincial party committees, and the outlook for new activities to be developed in future.

During the meeting, participated in by directors of ideology departments of the Central Committee and other officials involved in this party activity, there was intensive participation on the topics listed for discussion.

At yesterday's meeting, the participants discussed and analyzed the document on revising the political education system and documents on establishing political instruction centers.

#### Propaganda Work Stressed

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] The coordinator of Uige Provincial Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party, Manual Quarta Mpunza, called for renewed propaganda and counter propaganda efforts in this city Saturday.

Quarta Mpunza, who spoke at the closing session of the First National Ideological Meeting of the MPLA-Labor Party, further urged an improvement in political and ideological work and in teaching Marxist-Leninist theory and the history of the MPLA.

"The enemy is demagogically exploiting our errors, our failings and the difficulties the country is still facing," the party's Uige provincial coordinator asserted, adding that "the enemy is spreading incorrect ideas among our people, such as tribalism, regionalism and even racism, which are undermining national unity."

Manuel Quarta Mpunza spoke of the need to select active teams to strengthen the provincial departments involved in ideology.

He pointed out that the First National Seminar on Ideology, which began last Thursday, reviewed the activities of the Political, Ideological Education Departments (DEI), the Cultural and Sports Education Departments (DECD), and the Information and Propaganda Departments (DIP) of the party.

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CSO: 4742/376

CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL ON INDUSTRY HOLDS MEETING

Goals Announced

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 25 Aug 82 pp 1-2

[Text] The presentation, discussion, and passage of the Technical-Economic Plan for the year 1982-1983 will be the center of attention of the participants in the enlarged consultative council meeting of the Ministry of Industry which began yesterday morning in the installations of the TEXTANG production unit in Luanda in the course of a ceremony presided over by Bento Ribeiro, Minister of Industry, also attended by Pascoal Luvualu, member, Party Political Bureau and secretary-general of UNTA [National Union of Workers of Angola].

Representatives of 90 enterprises, totaling an average of 300 participants, for 3 days talked about the production targets proposed in the draft, thus reaching the high point of a series of meetings and assemblies carried out in the factories, in the provincial delegations, and in the directorates of the Ministry, in line with the methodology for the plan approved on a higher level.

The opening session was also attended by the vice ministers of planning and of industry, respectively, Henrique da Silva and Justino Fernandes; Adolfo Nsikalangu, secretary in the office of the president for economic affairs; and Galvao Branco, assistant secretary-general, UNTA. Also present were deputies from the People's Assembly, industrial workers, as well as national managers, provincial delegates from the Ministry and labor union leaders.

Industry Minister's Speech

In addressing the opening session of the consultative council meeting of the Ministry of Industry, Minister Bento Ribeiro delivered an important address, beginning with a statement to the effect that "the current situation of our economy is difficult. It is a part of the world recession which in a more serious manner hits the poorest countries as well as in a situation of war which is imposed upon us by the South African racists and their lackeys whose objective is the destruction of the country's economic structure."

Bento Ribeiro also pointed out that "as an underdeveloped country, we must grow, we must achieve higher growth rates, so as to improve the living conditions of our people and to create the technical-material foundations for the construction of socialism. We must however observe that, on the contrary, we are now witnessing a general decline in output and a significant number of factory shutdowns caused by the lack of raw material supplies. The intermittent production efforts in the factories create difficulties on the organizational level and promote lack of discipline. If we do not solve this central problem in guaranteeing the proper flow of technical-material supplies to the enterprises, then we cannot hope to improve the current situation."

After touching on the importance of the plan's discussion on the base level, in the factory production meetings, the minister of industry pointed out that "we cannot try to build socialism without the broad and democratic participation of the working masses; knowing what he is doing, knowing what the plan target and the output goals are, the conscientious worker will produce more than the worker who is not aware of his tasks in the factory."

During the final part of the speech Industry Minister Bento Ribeiro essentially covered the reorganization which is being contemplated in some industry sectors. He thus announced that "in the food industry, the sugar output has to go up next year to 37,000 tons, compared to an estimated output of 28,000 tons this year; the beer industry will have to maintain its current output level of 800,000 hectoliters while the edible oils industry will have to increase its output to 8 million liters. Among the light industry, we must single out the textile sector which will have to keep its output at 20 million square meters; the new production unit, TEXTANG II, in Luanda, is scheduled to go into operation next year and work is to be started on the textile complexes in Huambo and Malanje. The output of blankets will have to increase from 450,000 to 650,000 and the output of soap will have to be increased from 8,000 to 15,500 tons. In the heavy industry, the biggest advance will have to come in the metal working industry establishments which will be converted for the production of transportation equipment and materials. The mining industry will have to achieve an output of 1,800,000 carats and regular exploration of the iron mines at Kassinga will have to be started," Bento Ribeiro concluded.

#### 'More Realistic' 1983 Plan

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 27 Aug 82 p 1

[Excerpts] The preparation of a 1983 plan draft which make it possible to chart a more realistic strategy which can be adjusted to the country's current economic-financial situation deriving from a profound debate and study of the current situation in the industrial sector was the dominant note of work done by the enlarged consultative council meeting of the Ministry of Industry ending last night in Luanda.

For 3 days, hundreds of representatives of enterprises from all branches of industry engaged in an open discussion of the principal and countless problems affecting this vital sector of the Angolan economy; in a realistic approach, they outlined measures capable of bringing about rapid recovery and revival of the Angolan industrial establishment.

In a detailed analysis of the current situation, the participants found that one of the factors hindering progress in industry resides in the great irregularity in the supply of raw materials, secondary materials, and spare parts. This situation has caused extremely serious consequences in the efforts made in the area of enterprise production and organization, thus making more difficult the attempts launched to overcome the current supply shortage in terms of foreign resources with a view to minimizing the paralysis of the industrial establishment. The representatives of 90 enterprises throughout the country found that, in spite of current difficulties, it has been possible in qualitatively superior terms to prepare the 1983 plan draft which contains the control figures approved for the first time in advance; this permitted a broad and fruitful discussion of the industrial production plan for the next year on more realistic and objective bases.

According to the final meeting document, the replacement of imports so as to attain these objectives will have to be subjected to the conditions deriving from the final results of production and supply plan execution. Keeping in mind the current level of development within the national planning system, the production sector planning offices will have to have authority in any case that may come up to give their opinion on the importing of products that can be replaced by domestic products before their licensing by agencies of the Ministry of Foreign Trade on the basis of the above-mentioned activity reports.

#### Speech by Pascoal Luvualu

In closing the meeting, Pascoal Luvualu, of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, MPLA-Labor Party, delivered an important address in which he noted that the goals established by the plan must have the proper national and international projection so that no mistakes will be made, such as they had been made in earlier years. Talking about the country's current financial situation, he emphasized that it springs, on the one hand, from the aggression of the South African racists and, on the other hand, from the drop in international price levels.

The Party Political Bureau member also said that the capitalist countries are trying hard to shift their financial situation to the underdeveloped countries, forcing a decline in prices of products turned out by the latter and raising their prices through blackmail.

In conclusion, the UNTA secretary-general congratulated the members on the results of their work because, as he said, "These results will permit a substantial improvement in the organizational level of the country's enterprises."

5058  
CSO: 4742/391

ANGOLA

MILITARY SITUATION IN BENGUELA PROVINCE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 Aug 82 pp 1-2

[Text] "The military situation in the south of the country is troubling. The South Africans have been concentrating their forces along the border in the past few weeks," warned Colonel Juliao Mateus Paulo (Dino Matross) to the local information organs returning to the capital after having spent a few hours in Benguela.

The Angolan State Security Minister added in this regard that such places as Kuvelai and Kahama, as well as others, have been under intense fire, confirming an important, large-scale invasion of the southern part of the country. He stressed that "the Angolan people and the armed forces must be prepared."

During his short stay in Benguela Province, this Angolan official met with provincial officers of his ministry and made individual contacts with some of the local party and government leaders.

Dino Matross pointed out that their difficulties would be brought before the government's and party's central structures for their consideration and concluded that "the people of Benguela continue to support the party and government structures."

9805  
CSO: 4742/376

PRODUCTIVITY SEEN UNSATISFACTORY COUNTRYWIDE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] The National Department of the UNTA [National Union of Workers of Angola], which coordinates the competition program, reported on the results after 6 months of socialist competition, noting that productivity in the country was well below the targets set.

The causes of the slowdown in production are similar to those recorded for the first quarter of this year and involve the policy to limit imports of raw materials, a result of exchange difficulties.

Consequently, during the first quarter of this year, production of foodstuffs declined by 24.6 percent in the 70 enterprises participating in the competition. Likewise, in the construction sector, a decrease of 5.7 percent was recorded in 73 competing enterprises.

In light and heavy industry, production dropped by 2 and 1 percent, respectively. In agriculture, the decline in production was 11 percent in 72 enterprises participating in the Socialist Competition program.

Coffee and fish production increased considerably, the fish increase not because of an increased catch but more as a result of ship maintenance.

As regards absenteeism, statistics show that during the 6-month period in question, it was 3.54 percent, with the highest percentages recorded for construction, light industry, and agriculture, with 5.16, 6.49 and 5.77 percent, respectively. The health, public administration and services sector had the lowest figure at 2.05 percent.

The document also indicates that during this period, 12,446 workers performed distinguished service, out of which 519 received the highest distinction. The first figure represents 12 percent of the total workers participating in the Socialist Competition.

During the 6 months, there were about 551 voluntary work days, in which 20,036 workers participated clocking 110,050 hours of voluntary work. We should mention that 20.63 percent of these hours were devoted to farming, particularly in Malanje province for the maize harvest.

The National Department of Socialist Competition went on to report that the supply of foodstuffs to workers and canteens also declined as a result of the exchange situation, which hampered the individual and collective organization of the competition.

In non-productive enterprises, commerce and the hotel business, public administration and services substantially improved their organization and control, primarily as a result of circulation of the competition book, the document indicates.

The pilot plan for the national savings campaign begun on 7 June brought in savings valued at 2,865,830 kwanzas. The ten enterprises in Luanda province that made commitments had actual savings of about 1,700,000 kwanzas.

After analyzing the results of the pilot savings experiment, it was concluded that they were positive and it was decided that this campaign would be expanded primarily to cover priority enterprises and later all enterprises participating in the socialist competition program, and then, in another phase, all remaining enterprises, through an extensive membership campaign.

9805  
CSO: 4742/376

TAAG OPPOSES IATA-DECIDED PRICE INCREASE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Aug 82 p 1

[Text] The Angolan Air Transport Company (TAAG) recently rejected the International Air Transport Association's (IATA) decision to increase air fares by 7 percent for international flights, ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] learned from the Commercial Directorate of the enterprise.

The fare increase could be beneficial for TAAG if its business alone were considered. But, on making general computations, this increase would not benefit the company in any way, because of the amount of foreign currency our country would spend, TAAG's commercial director, Albino Vieira, said.

This 7-per cent increase stipulated by IATA, to take effect next October, will benefit the more developed companies (American and European), to the detriment of the less developed ones.

For the large companies, these benefits will amount to profits of \$2 billion (about 60 billion kwanzas), the maximum amount the market can bear, whereas for other companies, these profits will not be realized, because they will lose a large part of their passengers, thereby reducing their receipts.

The commercial director of TAAG further pointed out that at present the Angolan air line still does not have enough revenue to reduce its operating deficit, since the enterprise's profitability had been affected by various factors that prevented it from increasing its income.

9805  
CSO: 4742/376

CAHAMA RESIDENTS DECLARE READINESS TO COMBAT ENEMY

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 27 Aug 82 p 4

[Excerpts] The people in the region of Cahama are ready to mobilize for the fight against the enemy and for organization in handling production tasks.

Many of the inhabitants are presently moving the seat of the township after coming in from their "mocundas" (small villages) with information that is helpful in operations designed to confront the growing aggressiveness of the racists and traitors.

According to municipal commissioner Antonio dos Santos, local party and government authorities have decided to complete the efforts necessary to organize the population with a view to combining all useful resources toward the solution of the region's problems.

In spite of the constant overflights of racist aircraft, the township of Cahama seeks to meet local economic requirements. The workers are about ready to join together in peasant organizations.

The latter are already harvesting large quantities of "massango," "massambala," corn, and beans which are the staple foods for the population in the southern part of the country.

"This way of production and organization," said the municipal commissioner, "helps this area on a large scale in getting materials for subsistence because the war situation caused by South Africa does not permit the regular shipment of food through domestic commerce agency."

The indoctrination and organization campaign launched by the authorities also covers the military and police sectors and particularly is expressed through the protection, by the people, of enemy positions as well as the report of slander and rumors aimed at downgrading the policy of the MPLA-Labor Party.

Antonio dos Santos said that the solution to the achievement of prosperity in Angola, above all in Cunene, "necessarily calls for the expulsion of the racists from our country, with the support and determination of the armed arm of the Angolan people, the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and work for national reconstruction.

"In this sense, I urge the party, government, and military organizations in Cahama to be ready to take all measures within their reach to solve the problems that are arising in the localities hit by bombings and to guarantee peace to the population."

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

NEW HUILA MUNICIPALITIES--Lubango--The towns of Sendi, Kainda, and Chicongo, belonging to the municipality of Kipungo, will soon be established as communes according to an announcement by Huila Provincial Commissioner Mariano Puko during a visit to this township. The conversion of these towns into communes is a result of their importance in the context of the township's agricultural development and the need for establishing a management setup with more agencies under it so as to promote the better utilization of the area's economic potential. People's stores will soon be established in the town of Sendi to minimize the people's supply difficulties. According to officials in this town, many people have been moving out to the commune of Cacula due to the supply shortages in Sendi; it is expected that the situation will rapidly return to normal following the opening of the store. It was emphasized that the town of Sendi, which at one time was a mission, has a second-level school and a hospital with six male nurses. [Excerpt] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 27 Aug 82 p 2] 5058

ENERGY MINISTER TO USSR--Energy and Petroleum Minister Lt Col Pedro De Castro Van-Dunem "Loy" last night left for the USSR on a working visit, heading a large delegation from the two ministries he directs. [Text] Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 27 Aug 82 p 2] 5058

CSO: 4742/391

PARLIAMENT WANTS FRONTIERS REDEFINED

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 23 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Kwapeng Modikwe]

[Text] THERE WAS general consensus in the National Assembly last Wednesday when a call went up, that Botswana's existing boundaries - particularly along the Caprivi Strip - needed to be redefined.

This emerged at the Committee Stage when the Assembly was discussing the Tribal Land Amendment Bill which had earlier in the week passed through its second reading, undebated.

Spear-heading the debates were Mr David Monwela of Maun/Chobe and Mr David Magang of Kweneng East, who contended that the boundaries needed to be redefined.

Mr Monwela had wondered whether "time was not ripe" for Botswana to redesign her boundaries while Mr Magang had wondered as to whether "we would be doing something good to keep our doubts alive," by not showing the international community the need to redesign the boundaries with neighbouring countries especially at Caprivi Strip.

In the process, the Attorney General, Mr Moleleki Mokama,

told the Assembly that it was still premature to try to redefine the boundary with a view to repossess part of the Caprivi which belonged to this country before the Strip was established.

The Strip was established around 1895 through negotiations between the British High Commissioner to the then Bechuanaland Protectorate and the German Representative in Namibia, General Von Caprivi.

It is understood that the General had thought that since the Nile River was navigable, it was the same with the Zambezi River. For that reason, it is said, he approached the British who later agreed that the area which later became known as Caprivi Strip, be reserved for the Germans to navigate the Zambezi River, enroute to the Indian Ocean.

Mr Mokama then asked: "If you want to repossess part of that land, who do you speak to?" He reminded Parliament that it would be difficult for Botswana to do so at "this time because legally neither the South African Government nor the Namibians

CSO: 4700/1922

COCOA PRICES UP

Yaounde CAMEROON TRIBUNE in English 25 Aug 82 p 1

[Text]

The old cocoa season, - 1981-1982 ended last week to usher-in the new one - 1982-83 which opens September 1 with some good news for the cocoa farmer - an increase in the price of cocoa.

Following a presidential decree just signed, a kilogramme of grade One cocoa has been raised from 310 frs to 330 frs - an increase of 20 frs, while that of ungraded cocoa moves up by ten francs - from 90 frs to 100 frs. - all in a bid to encourage the farmer.

The increase in the price of cocoa comes along with a rise in its production.

Its production and commercialisation during the season just ended August 10, 1982, (118,000 tonnes) saw an increase of 2,000 tonnes.

And in addition to the recent increase in its prices and because of the importance government attaches to this eco-

nomic crop according to the Minister of Economic Affairs and Planning, Mr. Bouba Bello Maigari, some 10,000 million francs have been set aside as subvention for the next cocoa season.

Addressing a meeting grouping administrative officials of cocoa-producing areas in the country in Yaounde over the week-end, Minister Bouba Maigari regretted that the last season was catastrophic in Cameroon, explaining that the 10,000 million francs government subvention was intended mainly for the campaign against cocoa diseases and for regeneration, installation of young farmers, and the restructuring and strengthening of cooperatives.

He said this was also aimed at attaining the 139,000 tonnes objective of the country's Fifth-Five-Year Development Plan - a tonnage which would match the nation's development objectives.

CSO: 4700/1920

OBIANG PRESENTS CONSTITUTION FOR POPULAR REFERENDUM

London WEST AFRICA in English 23 Aug 82 p 2148

[Text]

A CONCERTED attempt by Colonel Obiang Nguema to improve the image of Equatorial Guinea has been cautiously welcomed by an opposition leader and foreign aid donors. Colonel Obiang, who overthrew the dictator Macias Nguema three years ago this month, has presented a Constitution to the people and asked them to approve it by referendum. First returns of the referendum, according to official sources, appear to approve the Constitution. Under the Constitution, President Obiang remains in power for seven more years. After that period, real "elections" are promised.

Details of the Draft Constitution were not available as we went to press, but it was understood to include guarantees on Human Rights some political freedoms.

Colonel Obiang has been touting for foreign aid and investment recently, particularly from the former colonial power, Spain. Relations with the "West" have improved from the time of Macias when Russian advisers abounded in Malabo, on the island, and in Bata, capital of the mainland portion of the country.

High points in this new direction were President Obiang's May visit to Madrid and the visit of the Pope to Malabo this February. Only last month, President Mitterrand's influential adviser, M. Guy Penne, visited Malabo.

In April this year Colonel Obiang launched a fund-raising drive in Geneva. Projects worth about \$150m. were listed, and loans for these projects have now been secured. The money comes from the IMF and 29 countries organised by the UN.

The most vocal of the opposition movements, the (exiled) Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Equatorial Guinea (RDLGE), has apparently supported the new Constitution, though it had previously

expressed reserves about the nature of the vote. There are also questions about who and how many the RDLGE represents. In July, the President of the movement, Sen. Manuel Ruben N'Dongo, was apparently under the impression that full elections would take place this month. He said in Paris that his party would present candidates "at the elections" if multipartyism was to be allowed. However, the RDLGE has now "wholly" approved of the referendum on the Constitution.

According to Colonel Obiang, the United Nations have been involved in drawing up the Constitution, which will include guarantees for foreign investors that their staff and plant will be safe. There would also be guarantees for all the ethnic groups in the country. They had all been consulted, the President said. Under the rule of Macias Nguema ethnic groups other than the Fang — to which Macias belonged, as does Obiang — were persecuted.

The opposition recently claimed that this sort of persecution was continuing under Obiang; "Macias' former Popular Militia, which were integrated into the National Guard, continue their arbitrary practices", Sen. N'Dongo, President of the RDLGE, said in July this year. "Prisoners arrested by Macias have still not been released and the regime in power has shown itself incapable of solving the acute economic problems of the country," he added.

The economic situation is indeed acute. The main resource of the country is cocoa. From a peak production in 1968 of over 80,000 tonnes per annum, cocoa receipts fell steadily during the Macias years. Current production is under 10,000 tonnes per annum. The flight of Equato-Guinean political refugees from the country was partly responsible, as was the evacuation by the Nigerian Government of skilled Nigerian

cocoa farmers. Lagos organised the evacuation of over 80,000 Nigerians from Equatorial Guinea in 1975 because of the "inhuman labour conditions" obtaining at Santa Isabel. However, many of those Nigerians have since returned.

Whether the new Constitution and opening to the West can contribute to solving these "economic" problems remains to be seen, but it seems clear that the "political" problems remain. Some Equato-Guinean exiles have protested that the Constitution was drafted undemocratically. As a measure of confidence in the authorities — and also in Sen. N'Dongo's opposition grouping which called for approval of the Constitution — only about 30 per cent of the Guinean community in Spain cast their ballots at the Madrid Embassy. This despite the fact voting was "compulsory".

CSO: 4700/1894

MASSIVE 'YES' FOR NEW CONSTITUTION

Paris AFRICA AFP in English 27 Aug 82 p 11

[Text] YAOUNDE, Cameroun, August 25--Equatorial Guinea has overwhelmingly approved a proposed new constitution in an August 15 referendum, reliable sources said here today.

Some 95.3 per cent of the electorate - 134,777 voters - approved the new constitution, which provides for the president to be elected for a seven-year term, a government headed by a prime minister and a legislature whose members would serve five-year terms.

Only 4.2 of the population, or 6,100 voters, rejected the new constitution in the referendum which lasted one week.

Details of the proposed constitutional changes were outlined earlier this month by military Head of State Colonel Teodoro Obiang Nguema. The new constitution would also create a National Council for Economic and Social Development, a consultative body.

Col. Obiang, who overthrew one of Africa's most tyrannical dictators, Macias Nguema, three years ago, is shortly expected to be elected president.

(In another development in Paris, Manuel Ruben N'Dongo, the exiled chairman of the opposition Democratic Rally for the Liberation of Equatorial Guinea (RDLGE) said he will soon return to the capital, Malabo, at the invitation of Col. Obiang.

(Mr. N'Dongo said he hoped negotiations between his party and the military rulers would take place "as soon as possible, so that all the RDLGE party workers and sympathisers living in exile can return".

(Mr. N'Dongo expressed satisfaction at the referendum results).

CSO: 4700/1894

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

BRIEFS

FIRST HISPANOPHONE CONFERENCE--The first Hispano-African Conference is to take place in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, in October. Equatorial Guinea is the only Spanish-speaking country in West Africa, apart from the Saharwi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), which is de facto Francophone. The announcement of the forthcoming Congress was made by the Equato-Guinean Minister for Culture, Sen. Leandro M'bomio, on a recent visit to Madrid, Spain. The conference is to be funded partly by UNESCO and will study the relative merits of imported and autonomous cultures. Among the personalities invited are M. Amadou Machtar M'Bow, the Director-General of UNESCO, former President Senghor of Senegal, the Nicaraguan Minister for Culture, Sen. Ernesto Cardenal, and the Spanish poet, Sen. Luis Rosales. Many Spanish-speaking Latin-American countries will be sending delegations to the meeting. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 23 Aug 82 p 2192]

CSO: 4700/1894

PETROLEUM EXPLOITATION DRAFT AGREEMENTS

Libreville L'UNION in French 17-18 Jul 82 p 4

[Text] Second vice prime minister Etienne-Guy Mouvagha-Tchioba, who is also the minister for mines and petroleum, accompanied by the permanent undersecretary for hydrocarbons, Mr Samuel Dossou Aworet and several technical experts from his department, signed a draft agreement Thursday relating to the exploitation of the oil deposits of Doree Marine and Olende by the Gabonese Government and two private companies, Enserch-Gabon and Murphy.

It was a solemn occasion, for it is the first time that the Gabonese Government is a direct participant in oil operations in our country. According to the officials from the ministry of mines and petroleum, it is no longer a question of prospecting but rather of "government participation in an oil-bearing deposit already in production."

Enserch-Gabon and Murphy, both of which are U.S.-based firms, have been in the oil business in our country for several years, in a partnership with Elf Gabon. So these companies have 12.5 percent ownership in the Olende No G5-31 concession which they have been operating since 14 October 1976 along with other companies such as Elf Gabon (50 percent), Odeco (6.5 percent), Ocean (6.5 percent) and Gulf (12.5 percent). Under the draft agreement they are ceding 33 percent of their interests in this concession to the Gabonese Government.

In addition, Murphy, which is a 20 percent partner in the Doree Marine No G5-29 exploratory concession, is ceding 33 percent of its interests in the concession to the Gabonese Government. It has been conducting operations there, in partnership with Elf Gabon (60 percent), Odeco (10 percent) and Ocean (10 percent) since 13 September 1974.

Now that the government has 33 percent ownership, it must designate a national company which will therefore go into partnership with the two above-mentioned companies.

9516  
CSO: 4719/1279

BOSS ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT DEFECTOR ALLEGED

Maseru LESOTHO WEEKLY in English 6 Aug 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Another Bid to Sow Seeds of Confusion in Lesotho"]

[Text]

**MR. MICHAEL DERRICK STREAK**, a member of the South African Defence Force, who defected to Lesotho recently, has received a letter suggesting that he is an agent of the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS).

The letter, which was mailed in Lesotho, is addressed to Mr. Streak in the care of both the Department of Interior and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Maseru.

In the letter, signed by a "Sammy", Mr. Derrick is instructed to get in touch with the United Nations Office which allegedly works hand in hand with the ANC, PAC and the Communists.

The writer of the letter also alleges to have documentary proof that certain United Nations officials holding foreign passports are helping the "Lesotho Liberation Army" (LLA) in Lesotho.

The letter further alleges that ANC officials will get in touch with Mr. Streak, and reminds him of the code which will be used by the men. The names of two contacts in Great Britain and New Zealand are also given.

Mr. Streak, who has been granted temporary political asylum in Lesotho has expressed a desire to settle in New Zealand.

Commenting on the letter, political observers in Maseru said the letter had obviously been written with the primary purpose of discrediting Mr. Streak in the opinion of the Government of Lesotho and the United Nations officials.

A letter that could have been handed over to Mr. Streak has been posted in Maseru and addressed to the Ministry of Interior and UNHCR. One would not expect BOSS to act so clumsily.

Commenting further on the letter, observers pointed out that the writer of the letter was definitely an Afrikaner who studied English from an Afrikaans Medium

School in a Plateland town. Sentence structure is poor and spelling appalling. Sequence of thought is "waffled."

The whole letter is indicative of an effort to put as much defamatory matter as possible within a short letter.

The view here is that there is no useful purpose for the writer to allege that United Nations officials are colluding with the "Lesotho Liberation Army" except to cast doubt in the Lesotho Government's outlook towards United Nations officials working in Maseru.

The document has come too soon after the recent fraud to scare Mrs. Phyllis Naidoo from coming back to Lesotho. It therefore fails to discredit Mr. Streak, but seems to be a link in the chain of attempts to alienate Lesotho from the liberation struggle.

An Envelope

VERY URGENT & CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. Michael Derrick STREAK  
c/o. Refugee Section,  
Dept. of Interior  
Box 746 U.N.H.C.R.  
MASERU. LESOTHO. L.U.



A Letter Implicating Mr Streak as a BOSS Agent.... And the Purpose?

1982.07.

Best Michael

We received your message and we heard the Radio Lesotho news bulletin that you have applied for political assylum..... so the thing worked out alright.

I told you that the stupid fools will believe your story and that they are too stupid to check your story.

See to it that you get in touch with the UN office... we know that they will be too eager to assist you.... because they are working hand in hand with the ANC, PAC and the communists. I have a very interesting document to prove that certain UN officials (with foreign passports) are helping the LLA chaps in Lesotho. The SB in Lesotho will never suspect them I suppose.

It is ok with us if you go to NZ .. but you should join CCSAWR like the other guys. Remember that your contact person in GB is Peter and in NZ it will be Christopher.

Your salary will be banked in S as arranged.

You must try and get as much publicity as possible... in Lesotho it will be no problem, because they are doing everything in their power to attack us.

Some ANC guys will get in touch with you... remember the code and they should identify them to you properly with that code.

The UN people will give you a travel document, in fact they are doing this for all terrorists of the world, including our scum and the PLO. Russia is playing a leading role in this and we know that they are controlling the majority agencies of the UN... you can also accept that 99% of the UN officials are communists

Well Michael we hope everything will go smoothly and that you will succeed with this important mission.

They may follow you in Lesotho .. so be on the look out and don't do anything that might make them suspicious. Don't trust the SB people... but answer their questions ... you will know.

Best regards and good luck.

Sammy

The X car will go to :::::

CSO: 4700/1918

REPORTAGE ON ALLEGED SECRET MEETING

Summit on Hough's Farm

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 1 Sep 82 pp 1, 3

[Text]

**ALTERNATIVE plans are currently being made for SWA in case UN Security Council Resolution 435 falls through.**

A number of meetings have been held in recent weeks between the AG Mr Danie Hough and the Chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Dirk Mudge, as well as between the AG and ethnic leaders.

A summit was also held recently on Mr Hough's farm near Pietersburg in the Transvaal and attended by the SA Prime Minister Mr PW Botha, the Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Mr Mudge and most of SWA's ethnic leaders.

The Advertiser has been fully aware of these developments for some time but was requested to keep quiet because the matter was regarded as extremely delicate and sensitive.

This morning however the first shots of what has been happening were fired by the DTA official organ, Die Republikein.

It is not clear to what extent Die Republikein has been aware of the aforementioned events.

what its motives were in publishing the story and whether it too had been requested to keep quiet about the matter.

Die Republikein however only reported that meetings had taken place between Mr Hough, the Defence Force and ethnic leaders.

It said that venues included the Daan Viljoen Game Reserve and Oshivello.

The Advertiser can reveal that regular meetings had taken place between the AG and ethnic leaders in Windhoek as well.

**CLASH**

The top secret meeting on Mr Hough's farm apparently saw a terrific clash between Prime Minister Botha and Mr Mudge over Mr Mudge's handling of the SWA situation.

It was witnessed by most of the people present at the summit.

Developments that have

emerged since then have increased strains between the DTA and the SA Government.

Mr Mudge hinted to the Windhoek Rotary Club recently that he strongly feared that the inhabitants of SWA would be betrayed by SA if a UN election is imposed on SA which is not free and fair.

Mr Mudge has apparently also been extremely concerned that the SA Government has been giving too much recognition, and attention to the ethnic leaders in SWA at the expense of the Ministers' Council and the DTA.

There has also been a running fight between the Ministers' Council and the Defence Force over the liaison committee which was set up between the Defence Force and the Owambo Government to handle grievances against the Defence Force.

Mr Mudge has made it clear that this issue should be handled at first-tier government level and not at representative authority level.

The SA-Government supporting newspaper The Citizen reported in a lead article recently that all was not well between the DTA and the SA Government.

The article was photostated in great numbers by the Ministers' Council and the DTA and widely distributed amongst DTA members.

The article was regarded as a government 'plant'

which described the difficulties and outlined its own standpoint.

Advertiser columnist Bill Hulme who is closely connected to the DTA has reacted vehemently in his column during the past two weeks to The Citizen article.

DTA Information Officer Mr Klaus Wolff also sent off a letter to the Editor of the Citizen, Mr Johnny Johnson, last week, protesting about the article.

Mr Mudge meanwhile has kept a low profile.

The first person to publicly suggest alternatives to Resolution 435 was DTA Deputy President Dr Ben Africa at a meeting in Rehoboth three weeks ago.

#### UDI

Dr Africa said that if Resolution 435 fell through, the inhabitants of SWA would have to consider the options of setting a government of national unity, a new constitution or a UDI declaration.

Asked after the meeting by The Advertiser whether these options had been taken up by the Ministers' Council or the DTA with the SA Government, Dr Africa replied emphatically in the negative.

Ironically however the options suggested by Dr Africa have been at the very basis of the discussions between the AG, the Ministers' Council and the ethnic leaders and were the major issue in the Pietersburg summit.

In Pietersburg it was jointly decided to keep quiet about these matters until the present initiative of Resolution 435 clearly fell flat over the Cuban issue.

US Assistant Secretary on Africa at the US State Department, Dr Chester Crocker, has hinted publicly already that the US is not prepared to take the negotiations much beyond the end of this year if full agreement is clearly out of reach.

Significantly however Mr Hough said last week on an Afrikaans TV programme that the people in SWA would know in the near future which way the wind would blow concerning their future.

The Advertiser understands however that if an alternative to Resolution 435 is sought, it will only be regarded by the SA Government, the Ministers' Council and ethnic leaders as an interim measure. Mr Mudge said as much in a public statement last week.

It is apparently felt that SWA will eventually have to broach Resolution 435 if true independence and international recognition is to be achieved.

The interim situation will allow for the interim constitution AG 8 to be changed or removed and it will allow for the building of internal parties anew to take on Swapo. These two aspects are regarded by the SA Government as major worrying factors at present.

#### Disavowal by Hough

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 2 Sep 82 p 1

[Text]

**THE Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, said last night allegations that he and South African officials had contrived a plan for new interim government in the Territory based purely on ethnic grounds, were devoid of all truth.**

Mr Hough's statement follows reports in Windhoek that severe strains had developed between the DTA and the South African Government.

In his statement, Mr Hough said it remained the intention of the SA Government to continue with efforts to implement Resolution 435 "provided obstacles in the way" could be removed.

On allegations that suggested an election would not take place in the foreseeable future, Mr Hough said he wanted to stress that talks about a more acceptable interim system remained important irrespective of the outcome of the settlement plan.

"It is well known that the present government system in SWA leads to a great deal of dissatisfaction amongst governing bodies and the people of the country," said the AG.

Mr Hough said both the Central Government and the various ethnic authorities had laid complaints about the other levels of government.

He and his advisers gave constant attention to this situation and were examining possibilities to remove bottlenecks and as far as possible to establish a generally more acceptable dispensation during the interim period before independence.

This was being done in consultation with different government leaders, who were canvassed for their opinions.

Talks were held on an individual basis with members of the Ministers' Council and members of the Executive Committees of the Representative Authorities.

The aim of the talks at this stage was to discuss openly ideas about guidelines for future possible steps to be taken.

"I want to emphasise and it was conveyed to the participants as such, that these talks are in essence purely a reconnoitre and that no-one will be bound to their standpoints," Mr Hough said.

The AG went on to say he could not understand allegations by DTA leaders that they had not been properly informed about the progress made in negotiations, since a SA delegation informed all important political organisations in July.

He had also informed the public in a recent interview on what was happening about the future of the Territory, the AG added.

#### IRRESPONSIBLE

Uncertainty and lack of information led to speculation, but reporting that lacked controlled facts was "irresponsible," Mr Hough concluded.

The SA Premier, PW Botha addressed the OFS congress of the National Party in Bloemfontein last night and made a brief reference to Namibia.

He said no settlement was possible in the Territory until the Cubans had left Angola.

Mr Botha added that what worried him a great deal was the fact that while the communists had clearly stated aims and goals, the West had no overall strategy to combat communism.

Mr Botha did not comment directly on yesterday's reports from Windhoek.

Denial From Mudge

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 2 Sep 82 p 1

[Text]

MR Dirk Mudge denied this morning that he has ever been on the AG Mr Danie Hough's farm near Pietersburg in the Transvaal, as was reported in The Advertiser yesterday.

The meeting, described as secret, was reportedly attended by the SA Prime Minister PW Botha, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, the AG, Mr Mudge and most of the ethnic leaders in SWA.

Referring to the report, Mr Mudge this morning said in a statement: "To tell the truth, I have never in my life been in Pietersburg, or on Mr Hough's farm.

"The meeting about which The Advertiser

knows, is definitely one at which the DTA was not involved.", Mr Mudge added.

He issued the statement in his capacity as Chairman of the DTA.

Mr Mudge denied in the strongest terms that he or any DTA leader had any knowledge of or attended a meeting on Mr Hough's farm which was attended by ethnic leaders, the AG, the SA Prime Minister, Foreign Affairs Minister and himself.

The DTA is aware of talks in Windhoek and vicinity to which The Advertiser and Die Republikein referred yesterday, and at which some DTA leaders were present.

"About the content of these talks I cannot give firsthand details," Mr Mudge said.

CSO: 4700/1898

DE KLERK'S DISMISSAL IN PERSPECTIVE

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 1 Sep 82 p 7

[Article by Leon Kok in column "From The Editor's Desk"]

[Text]

I FOUND the news this week of the 'firing' of Die Transvaler Editor Dr Wimpie de Klerk by Perskor Executive Chairman Mr Marius Jooste both amusing and tragic.

Dr De Klerk was also co-MD of Perskor.

I say this as one who spent eight years in the employment of the Perskor group (including Die Transvaler) — a group for which I still have a great affinity.

I will explain my aforementioned remark.

Mr Jooste is not only the greatest force within Perskor, but is a tough old elephant bull (at 75), a formidable businessman and takes no nonsense from anyone.

But I believe that he is also an extremely likable person.

There is probably only one person whom Mr Jooste doesn't buck, and that is Dagbreek Trust Chairman Mr Ben Schoeman who is at the pinnacle of Perskor's power. Oom Ben is no softy himself.

Mr Jooste thinks nothing of putting Cabinet Ministers in their place at the drop of a hat, including the Prime Minister, and

particularly when they complain about what Perskor newspapers might be saying about them. I say this out of personal experience.

Mr Jooste's attitude is simply this: his group put the present government into power, it has kept it there and he owes the government nothing. Indeed, if anyone owes anybody anything, the government owes him one hell of a lot. And on that basis he is not prepared to put up with any petty nonsense.

The history of Perskor, the NP and Mr Jooste are in fact closely integrated.

Boer leader and former SA Prime Minister General Barry Hertzog won a litigation shortly after the Anglo-Boer war and used those funds to set up the Transvaal-based newspaper Die Vaderland. This newspaper has played a significant role in the struggle of both the Afrikaner people and the NP to this day. It is presently edited by a good friend and former editor of mine, Harald Pakendorf.

BROKE

Jooste joined this company after graduating from the University of the Free State and a short spell in

teaching. After a few years he, Dr Willem van Heerden and a few others broke away and set up the newspaper *Dagbreek*. Dr Van Heerden eventually became editor and Marius Jooste chief executive of the group. Times were hard but the group grew from strength to strength.

*Dagbreek* eventually merged its publishing interests with *Vaderland* in 1962 and that became a formidable group known as *Afrikaanse Pers* (1962) Ltd which I was to join. Jooste again emerged as chief executive of the group and set out to expand it considerably.

A few years later *Afrikaanse Pers* merged with the holding company of *Die Transvaler*, namely *Voortrekker Pers*. This was in effect more of a take-over and the name of the group was then changed to *Perskor*.

Prominent new newspapers that emerged after 1962 were the *Financial Gazette*, *Hoofstad*, *Oggendblad*, *Tempo* and a 50-50 deal with the Cape-based NP publishing group, *Rapport*.

Several newspapers were also set up in the Black states and White rural areas, including the *Mmabatho Mail* in Bophutatswana which I was appointed to launch and edit.

The giant English-speaking publishing group *Argus* meanwhile sold off its lose-making magazine section to the Republican Press group controlled by the Heyman brothers in Natal and they turned the tables and made a great success of the magazine business. *Perskor* subsequently took over this section and it has become a major contributor to profits. Prominent *Perskor* magazines include *Scope*, *Farmers Weekly* and *Radio & TV*.

Most recently *Perskor* took over *The Citizen* and merged the *Financial Gazette* with it. I was involved with both those newspapers at varying stages.

One important thread continued to follow through all these developments: Marius Jooste.

#### **GAINED STRENGTH**

And he gained strength with each of the developments.

Significantly, one of the reasons that *Voortrekker Pers* gave way to the *Afrikaanse Pers* take-over is that *Voortrekker Pers* got wind that the Cape-based Afrikaans publishing group *Nasionale Pers* had intentions of setting up a morning newspaper in the Transvaal to compete against *Die Transvaler* and it felt it could not meet the onslaught from the south single-handed. This turned out to be correct with the subsequent launching of *Beeld*.

The struggle was not only economic, but political. It was indeed a struggle for control of Afrikanerdom and ultimately power in SA. The man in the Cape who assumed leadership of this struggle was one Pieter Willem Botha and his chief rival in the Transvaal was the then emerging 'Crown Prince' of the NP, Connie Mulder. The outcome is now wellknown.

The *Perskor* board realised that the odds were against *Die Transvaler* with its then particularly weak editorial compliment under the editorship of Carel Nofke and as such the board dismissed Nofke as Editor and replaced him with Wimpie de Klerk. Nofke was later to take up a senior position with the Department of Information and has been SA's main spokesman in Washington for the last couple of years.

De Klerk at that point had considerable political appeal although he had no journalistic experience and his appointment as Editor of *Die Transvaler* was hailed as a great political triumph for the Transvaal publishing group. In fact it was felt that if *Perskor* had not jumped in first, he would have been nabbed by *Nasionale Pers*.

Wimpie de Klerk indeed was an outspoken 'verligte' academic at Potchefstroom University and was famous for having coined the words 'verligte' and 'verkrampte'. It also seemed on the cards that he would take over as Rector of the University, an appointment which in fact was later offered to him and he turned down on the grounds that he felt he could make a far greater contribution to SA through journalism.

Not insignificantly, he was the son of former Senate President and senior Cabinet Minister Jan de Klerk. He was also a nephew of former SA Prime Minister Hans Strijdom. And at the time of his appointment as Editor of *Die Transvaler*, his elder brother FW de Klerk was a prominent NP and is now a senior Cabinet Minister and leader of the NP in the Transvaal.

Wimpie de Klerk made a good start as Editor of *Die Transvaler*, being open-minded, liberally-orientated and willing to learn. The paper undoubtedly made considerable ground in the early stages of his editorship and in the mid-seventies it was generally accepted that he would be the natural successor to Marius Jooste. Mr Jooste in fact appointed him co-MD in the group in addition to being Editor of *Die Transvaler*.

Now the problems.

#### **CHALLENGE**

Wimpie de Klerk's cause

was lost the minute he started challenging Marius Jooste on company policy and that's precisely what De Klerk did.

He wasn't the first to try and lose; there have been others, most notably Henri Laurie and Rudolf Oppermann. Laurie gave up the position as a chief executive in the Sanlam group before joining Perskor while Oppermann is President of the SA National Olympic Committee.

Perskor for example is anything but enlightened in the modern context concerning the handling of its personnel, but goodness forbid that you tell Jooste that.

Apart from possibly strangling you, Jooste will tell you that he has never fired a person yet — even in times of depression, recession and war. And apparently to him that's about as good as conditions need be. On the other hand I have to concede that he has been extremely good to many loyal Perskor employees. Myself included.

True, De Klerk claims that he had been 'fired', but equally I am willing to bet that Jooste offered him an alternative appointment as well.

Besides, Jooste is too powerful to be challenged. He has too great a grip on the entire group and is too entrenched in the group's trusts to be uprooted and removed. He also has tremendous political clout, even against the brother of the leader of the NP in the Transvaal as we have seen this week.

More recently De Klerk has faced considerable flak

because Die Transvaler has lost considerable ground in the circulation battle against Beeld. Die Transvaler has almost halved its circulation in the past few years while Beeld has doubled its circulation.

Die Transvaler has undoubtedly been put under considerable strain through Mr PW Botha's rise to the pinnacle of power and the circulation scandal that rocked the group two years ago. Dr De Klerk publicly disassociated himself with the alleged cooking of figures.

Then finally there are the political problems.

The split in the NP and the setting up of the Conservative Party must have and still will make its toll felt.

Oom Ben Schoeman told the Rand Daily Mail last week that Perskor will remain faithful to the NP and under no circumstances will it support the CP. He said furthermore that Mr PW Botha was not moving fast enough in his reform policies.

#### MORE COMPLICATED

The situation however is a bit more complicated than that.

In the first instance there could well be members of the various trusts and boards within the group who either support the CP openly or are sitting on the fence. This must inevitably cause strains. Two such people are former Prime Minister John Vorster and former HNP leader Albert Hertzog.

In the second instance Perskor is largely dependent on government for printing contracts and

Jooste as a shrewd businessman would undoubtedly be loathe to be too cool towards the CP while there is a good chance of it coming to power.

And thirdly Jooste would be reluctant to alienate the group too strongly from the conservative Afrikaners of the Transvaal on whom Perskor depends so strongly for business and readership.

Indeed, one can already discern a fairly neutral editorial line in The Citizen and Oggendblad.

De Klerk on the other hand has made no bones about it that he wants nothing to do with hardline rightwing elements.

And it is here that one has to make a subjective judgment of De Klerk. If he has been forced out primarily on political grounds, then I certainly regard the matter as a tragedy.

He is one man in SA who has gone out of his way to meet the Buthelezi and Motlanas, understand them and find common ground. In fact he has done wonders in trying conciliation. He has done this furthermore at the expense to himself of a brilliant and secure academic career and this cannot be considered lightly.

Wimpie de Klerk's loss to journalism will indeed be severely felt.

Hopefully, he won't be lost to SA's future progress entirely.

The loss to SA public life of the likes of De Klerk is most certainly not the sort of loss that SA can afford.

It goes without saying that I am sorry to see him go.

COLORED LEADER TONGUE-LASHES MUDGE

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 1 Sep 82 p 3

[Text]

**CHAIRMAN** of the Ministers' Council Dirk Mudge was a dictator whose days of bribery politics were catching up with him, Mr Barney Barnes, Chairman of the Coloured Administration's Executive said yesterday.

He was addressing the Coloured Legislative Assembly in Komasdal during its special session called to table two motions.

The one motion deals with the recent announcement of a probe into alleged maladministration of Government funds in Namibia, and the other calls for the immediate suspension of all bird exports from the Territory.

The Black leaders in the DTA were all completely dependent on Mr Mudge, and that is why they continued supporting him, Mr Barnes said.

"Dirk Mudge continues with his lollipop politics because they (the Black DTA leaders) always have to be licked," he said.

The Coloured leader likened the Ministers' Council to the "losers political club of Namibia" because most of the leaders on it did not enjoy the majority support of their people.

Mr Barnes was speaking

on a motion tabled by MEC Dawid Bezuidenhout.

It thanked the Administrator General for the decision to launch a judicial commission of inquiry into alleged irregularities in Government finance, and called on the AG to allow the inquiry to include a probe into:

- How many members of the Ministers' Council and National Assembly received State loans for the purchase of houses, farms, stock or businesses.

- How many members of the Ministers' Council and the National Assembly who received fixed or movable property with State finance, disposed of these, and what profit they made.

- How many of the farms sold by the Chairman of the Ministers' Council since 1978 were sold with the assistance of Government finance and what amounts were involved.

Mr Barnes also called on the AG to allow for evidence before the commission to be made in public and urged him to prove his impartiality by appointing a chairman to the commission which was not associated with Mr Mudge in any way.

**POWER-CRAZY**

"When Dirk Mudge stabbed his people in the

back (leaving the National Party to start the Republican Party) we believed that Mr Mudge had stepped forward to save the country. But it turned out that he did it in the long term interests of his own power-crazy plans," Mr Barnes said.

Mr Mudge was a dictator who wanted to destroy all his opposition, he added.

"He gets the support of Black leaders in the DTA because they are scared if he resigns they know they don't have the support of their own people and depend on Dirk Mudge and his cheques to stay in power," according to Mr Barnes.

But other leaders had left.

"Where is Appie Louw, Michael Meyer, Nico Janse, Werner Neef and Pastor Njoba?" Mr Barnes asked, referring to past RP and DTA leaders.

While Mr Mudge accused second-tier authorities of creating 'empires' for themselves, the Ministers' Council and the National Assembly's members indulged in the same 'empire building'.

"What about Mudge's R13m empire at the SWABC which is for the convenience of Whites?", asked Mr Barnes.

He also accused Mr Mudge for building empires for his family, and referred to the sale of his farm Lazy Spade to Mr Nico Oelofse who is related to him by marriage.

"Did Dirk Mudge sell Lazy Spade to Mr Oelofse who got a Land Bank loan? Did he get his cheque from State funds?", Mr Barnes asked further.

#### BIG DICTATOR

"He's the big dictator.

He thinks he owns the country," he added.

Mr Barnes also alleged that Mr Mudge presented Chief Kuaima Riruako, President of the DTA, with a new BMW motorcar on his election as leader of the Hereros.

He further referred to R40 000 profit which Mr Riruako made on the sale of his farm to the Tswana Administration, two years after purchasing it with a Government loan.

"How much did the DTA pay for Dirk Mudge's aeroplane, and before that, for the use of the aircraft?", Mr Barnes asked.

"Where is the legislation which allows members of the Ministers' Council to buy houses with public funds?"

On a recent statement by Mr Mudge that he would permit a probe into his personal money matters on condition that it was a special commission separate from the judicial inquiry into Government financial affairs, Mr Barnes said: "Does Mudge's White skin permit him to request a special commission to probe his private money matters?"

Other empires of Mr Mudge's is the meat factory at Gobabis and the drought relief scheme, according to Mr Barnes.

SWA needed to be saved from Mr Mudge, Mr Barnes said.

Mr Mudge had looked for trouble with the wrong man when he picked the Coloured leader.

"If you scratch on this Hotnot, I'll scratch back ten times. I'll give Mudge the political hiding of his life," Mr Barnes said.

OC SPELLS OUT THE FUTURE OF SWATF

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Sep 82 p 8

[Text]

**WINDHOEK.** — The future of the SWA Territorial Force, if Resolution 435 of the United Nations should be implemented, was the first time spelled out by Major-General Charles Lloyd on Saturday.

Gen Lloyd, officer commanding the SWA Territorial Force, spoke at a medal parade at the showgrounds in Windhoek to celebrate the forces second birthday.

"After cessation of the hostilities for a period of time still to be decided upon mobilised troops will be limited to base and monitored by Untag monitors. Units who are not mobilised at the time will remain demobilised."

"Thereafter all units" support weapons and ammunition will be handed in at unit headquarters where it will be kept in safe custody by the units concerned, under the surveillance of Untag monitors. Personal weapons will not be handed in and Untag will not take control of arms and ammunition handed in". Gen Lloyd said.

**Time schedule**

The numbers of the mobilised troops would

be reduced in accordance with a preplanned time schedule. Members of the Black battalion would go on leave with pay. They would return to their headquarters once a month to draw their pay.

Gen Lloyd stressed that the members would not be pushed into the cold to become victims of Swapo's intimidation.

He pointed out that the demilitarisation of the SWATF would be a temporary phase which should last only for the duration of the election campaign.

**After election**

"The development of the SWATF is part of the SWA independence progress and after the election the new constitution will provide for a defence force which will incorporate the SWATF as it is known now."

In the meantime, Gen Lloyd said, the SWATF would continue to develop with the eye on the independence of the country. It was imperative to provide the new state with a defence force which could guarantee its safety and sovereignty.

CSO: 4700/1926

NAMIBIA

BRIEFS

CASH PROBLEMS--WINDHOEK--The Coloured administration in South West Africa faces financial dire straits. No budget for the new financial year has yet been approved and therefore no cheque can be drawn by this authority from the beginning of September. Officials may not receive salary cheques at the end of the month. To compile, approve and accept a budget can take a long time. It has to be cleared by the Attorney-General as well as by officials of the Department of Finance. Mr Barney Barnes, chairman of the Coloured executive committee, would not comment when asked about this dilemma. The administration is paying R101 to pensioners each month, even though the SWA Central Government only makes provision for R50 a pensioner. This will definitely contribute to the problem of balancing the budget. According to a report in yesterday's Republikein the Coloured executive committee handed in a budget with a deficit of R6-million which the Attorney-General would not accept. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Sep 82 p 3]

PENSION FOR NUJOMA'S MOTHER--Windhoek--Every two months a heavily weaponed convoy leaves Oshakati in the north of South West Africa under security. Aboard the army vehicles is the pension money for senior citizens in the operational area. With painstaking, methodical effort the dirt road between Oshakati and Ongadjera is scanned for landmines to ensure that the pension money, without which the old people could not survive, reaches them safely. The group of old people gathering around the convoy when it arrives safely in Ongadjera has become familiar to the pension pay-masters. One familiar face among the pensioners is that of a weatherbeaten, wrinkled old lady--the mother of South West Africa's number one enemy, terrorist leader Sam Nujoma. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Sep 82 p 9]

CSO: 4700/1926

KOUNTCHE ADDRESSES CONFERENCE OF CADRES

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 5 Aug 82 pp 1, 3

[Excerpt] The head of state, Col Seyni Kountche, chaired a meeting of cadres yesterday at the former National Assembly building.

In his remarks, the president of the Supreme Military Council (CMS) elaborated on the following main points:

--the economic situation;  
--the political situation in Africa; and  
--statements about the government's recent decisions in connection with the great national debate on Nigerian education.

On the first point, President Kountche first of all said that until 1975 agriculture and stock-raising were the mainstays of the nation's economy. Unfortunately, drought and a number of market factors have made it impossible for those two pillars to support our economy any more.

During the same period, President Kountche said, we fortunately witnessed a large increase in the price of uranium, which went from 5,000 Fr per kilogram in 1975 to 24,000 in 1979.

This growth in our financial resources provided the engine for a great deal of economic growth in our country.

Since then, President Kountche explained, we have had to deal with a decrease in the price of uranium and also with marketing problems, for it does no good to produce unless one can also sell.

The increase in the dollar and higher interest rates charged by the banks, added to the factors already cited, have made for a rather troublesome economic plight.

Austerity is thus necessary at every level: individual and collective. We must avoid waste.

The head of state, Col Seyni Kountche, nevertheless insisted on boosting the morale of the cadres. Niger has a good reputation internationally, which will

help it overcome certain temporary problems. He therefore urged Nigerians to continue to preserve that reputation.

Going to the second point in his remarks, President Kountche made the following observation: the crisis the OAU [Organization of African Unity] is currently going through threatens peace in Africa and especially the stability of the small countries.

After noting Niger's efforts to safeguard that organization, President Kountche urged the citizens to be more vigilant than ever before, because if the OAU--which is a source of protection for African countries--were to break up, the door would be open for all kinds of meddling.

With regard to the third point, dealing with the government's recent decisions about the Nigerian education system, the president of the CMS first of all said that it was time to put the recommendations of the Zinder debate into action.

To do that, he said, it is first of all necessary to make new efforts in planning and programming for cadres, for a national administration needs to know what its cadre requirements are. This planning must be based on the needs expressed.

President Kountche stressed that it is the responsibility of the state to give instruction to the children and to provide them work in fields where the state determines there is a need. For example, he said that if Niger expects to get 4,000 new graduates, and the state only needs 3,000, the other 1,000 should be able to get work in another sector such as agriculture, stock-raising, small business, etc.

With regard to the closing of the boarding schools, the head of state said that the government has no intention of shirking its responsibilities. The government's concern is to put Niger's educational system in a real-world context, to make it possible for the students to experience the nation's realities, while giving parents the chance to watch over and follow the progress their children are making.

9516  
CSO: 4719/1279

UGANDA BILL TO RETURN ASIAN PROPERTY TERMED RETROGRESSIVE

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 30 Aug 82 p 3

[Editorial in the column "DAILY TIMES Opinion": "Uganda: Stop the Bill"]

[Text]

**A**LTHOUGH most African countries became politically independent over two decades ago, there is hardly any that sufficiently controls her economy up till now, because of foreign domination and the culpable dependence syndrome of most governments.

One good thing which President Idi Amin did throughout his otherwise, bestial reign was the wresting of his country's economy from foreigners and placing Ugandans at the commanding heights of their own destiny.

Despite the orchestrated condemnation of Idi Amin by the Western Press, the successful implementation of his Africanisation policy made Uganda the envy of other East African countries, like Kenya and Malawi, whose economies continued to be dominated by the Asians.

The Ugandan Parliament is said to be currently considering a bill to return all the confiscated property to their former owners.

If the bill is passed, the former foreign controllers of the Ugandan economy may also be asked to return to the country within 60 days to identify their properties, re-possess them, and thereafter stay on to do their businesses.

We suspect that the Obote regime is trying to woo the Asians and Britons back to his country probably after a deal with Britain over aid.

**Really, the Asians who eventually settled in East Africa were brought there as technicians and labourers by the colonial railways to provide cheap labour. Throughout the colonial period, they stayed as British citizens, possessing British passports.**

**When most of these countries became independent, the Asians maintained their nebulous status of being Asian indigenes carrying British passports and living in Africa.**

**Idi Amin did not like this. He asked them to renounce their British citizenship and get Ugandan passports. Maybe, because of Idi Amin's misrule most of them preferred the option of leaving the country.**

**Now, if they come back, there will be the problem of property classification, because some of them were confiscated by the state, while the Asians sold others to Ugandans. Even, if they come now, is the government going to tell Africans who have been running such businesses to suddenly give them up to please the Asians?**

**By now Ugandans should be in the process of being masters of their economy. And that is a magnificent achievement.**

**The bill, therefore, appears retrogressive and very largely an anathema to the aspiration of most Africans.**

CSO: 4700/1778

TASK FORCE: RICE SHORTAGE STORY DUE TO SABOTEURS

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 8 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Aliu Zubair]

[Text]

**C**OMPLAINTS and allegations that rice was out of stock arose from saboteurs and individuals who wanted the commodity for trade, rather than public consumption as envisaged by the task force.

The chairman of the Presidential Task Force on Rice, Dr. Umaru Dikko, made this assertion in Lagos yesterday. He emphasised that there was no scarcity of rice in the country.

Dr. Dikko who was testifying before the House of Representatives special panel now probing the activities of the task force disclosed that the problem of rice had been completely tackled.

On an alleged loss of millions of naira as a result of rice that got missing in transit, Dr. Dikko explained that every bag of rice purchased was accounted for.

Explaining the task force stand on not adopting the open tender for the procurement of rice, he told the panel that by law, the task force was not in a position to negotiate price or tender for the commodity.

He further added that negotiation of price of this commodity would as well raise its price.

Dr. Dikko further told the panel that the Nigerian National Supply Company Limited

(NNSL) was to start appointing its own distributors of any commodities, including rice, following pressures and stampede by individuals for distributorship.

Testifying before the panel earlier, Alhaji Abubakar Tuggar (NPM Bauchi), who had sponsored a motion in the House of Representatives to probe the task force alleged that about ₦11 million was lost as a result of some bags of rice missing in transit.

He, however, noted that the price of rice could be reduced if there was open tender as there would be competition.

Alhaji Tuggar attributed the loss of bags of rice to inadequate security arrangements.

CSO: 4700/1778

VERGES PRESS CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROBLEMS

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 1 Jul 82 p 2

[Text] At his press conference Tuesday, the secretary general of the PRC [Communist Party of Reunion] discussed Reunion's economic condition at length as well as prospects for change in the coming months.

Our comrade began his analysis with a brief commentary on the situation in France. The French leftist government, in order to reclaim its own domestic market, has gone counter to the direction of the policies maintained by its Common Market neighbors and by the developed capitalist countries of OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development). These countries have now come to the limit of their patience with the orientation of French policy. It was in this context that the government took steps to defend the franc. "There is room to argue the effectiveness of the measures taken," Paul Verges said, "but no one should gloat over the problems [the French are having] in reducing unemployment and inflation. To hope for the worst would be irresponsible," our comrade said.

The 4 August Program

It is against this backdrop that the economic situation on Reunion must be examined. "The presidential majority on Reunion should avoid demagoguery. It should tell the Reunionese people the truth about the gravity of these problems," Paul Verges insisted. "Among other things, it needs to be explained that recovery for our country will take longer than in France, because of the heavy legacy of the Rightist government."

People should understand that legacy. "And if the leaders of the opposition want to have any credibility," Verges said, "they must admit that it will take a generation for Reunion to recover; because the disparities are too great and their effects are felt by such a large majority of the people."

The PCR is certainly intending to be involved in that recovery. Toward that end it will be publishing its proposed program. Our party's secretary general said that the PCR "plans to make public its program on 4 August, to emphasize its symbolic link to the night of 4 August 1789. It is to show that on Reunion the time has come to abolish privileges. This is not going

to be a Bolshevik revolution, but now that two centuries have passed since the French Revolution, we must abolish the real feudal privileges that still exist on Reunion."

#### The Real Debate

Our comrade was very optimistic about prospects for mobilizing as many Reunionese as possible to bring about change in our country. The decision to establish a unicameral assembly will clarify the issues by putting the sincerity of the "ultras" to the acid test on the questions of letting go and independence. It will split the Right between those who are willing to accept democratic debate and the extremists.

The publication of the programs of the two main leftist parties will make it possible to center the real debate on our island's economic development. On this basis, and with the help of other forces supporting development, it will be possible to create the broadest possible consensus to defeat the Right several months from now, both in the municipal elections and in the unicameral assembly. The Left will then open up a new era for Reunion, an era in which the Reunionese can realize their full potential.

#### Toward Improved Regional Cooperation

The reconversion of the Reunionese economy will take so long that we could start right now organizing projects in our region with countries (like Madagascar) that produce rice, corn, or whatever, without compromising our own effort to increase production.

In addition, the path taken by the French Government shows that conditions are ripe for improved regional cooperation in the Indian Ocean. In fact, it should also be noted that in our region--the islands of the southwest Indian Ocean--the leadership of those countries is in the hands of progressive politicians and parties of long standing. This is where we belong.

Along with the possibilities for regional economic projects, there are other prospects for cooperation with our neighbors in education, meteorology, joint ventures in fishing, transport, communication, etc.

These possibilities are objectively real. But to realize them the Left must win on Reunion. So long as Reunion is governed by the "ultras," it will lack credibility with its neighbors. This is one reason why the Left must come to power on Reunion.

9516  
CSO: 4719/1226

PCR DEVELOPMENT PLAN DESCRIBED

Central Committee Resolution

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 5 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] The Central Committee of the Reunionese Communist Party [PCR] met in Le Port on 4 August 1982. It examined the draft development plan submitted by the commission created to prepare the plan.

The Central Committee adopted the draft plan.

It assigned the party's Secretariat the duty of submitting it in final form and making it public in coming weeks.

For the time being, the Central Committee has decided to publish a resolution containing the principal features of the party's program.

Party members and organizations will thereafter provide for its wider circulation with its analyses, aspects and solutions.

They will thus be participating in the broad debate to be opened on problems of development.

The contributions of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, organizations and individuals will make up this debate.

The broadest possible consensus will thus be established--in reality--which will make it possible to assure the victory of the forces of change in Reunion.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party calls on all Reunionese to consider the importance of their present historical period and to participate fully in the changes necessary for social progress and the country's development.

Le Port, 4 August 1982

Secretariat's Press Conference

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 7-8 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] On behalf of the PCR Secretariat, our comrades Paul Verges, Elie Hoarau and Lucet Langenier informed the press of the major features of the Reunion development plan prepared by the PCR; the plan was adopted by our party's Central Committee on 4 August.

Elie Hoarau provided a brief appraisal of the economic policy of the right, which governed our island for 30 years, an appraisal characterized by the serious crisis in the various sectors of our economy as a result of a colonial policy followed until 1946 and a policy of assimilation with departmentalization. The Communist Party proposes three ways of halting the country's underdevelopment and putting it on the path of progress: maintaining and increasing solidarity, the practice of solidarity among Reunionese themselves, and giving Reunionese responsibility in the affairs of their country.

Technical and financial resources will, of course, be added to these major principles. In any case, the mobilization of public capital will constitute the driving force of development. This mobilization can be achieved through the establishment of a Special Investment Fund (FIS) with a percentage of public transfers and sums allocated for solidarity among Reunionese. Thus each year, 1 billion francs will be injected directly into Reunion's productive sector and into the social sector.

All of these arrangements require, of course, a review of the income policy based on the cost of living, precise planning of development and real coordination among social partners. In his report, Elie Hoarau also talked about the possibilities of developing agriculture, fishing, industry and crafts. And one of the priorities of this new policy is the creation of jobs.

With the program which it has proposed, the Communist Party plans to offer work to more than 10,000 Reunionese each year. It is obvious that the problem of employment cannot be solved in the short term. "It will take at least a generation to reach a satisfactory situation," Elie Hoarau stated.

He also stressed a unique aspect of the Reunion development program prepared by the PCR concerning regional redeployment. "Reunion must be reincorporated into its geographical environment. With public transfers and the market created on Reunion, we can participate in the French Government's policy of aid to neighboring countries," he stated.

Following this description of the major aspects of our country's development program proposed by the PCR, our comrade Paul Verges answered journalists' questions, which were concerned in particular with the program of the Socialist Party Federation and regional redeployment.

The detailed program is currently being put into final form and will be printed in the next few days and published by the end of the month. We are publishing the dominant major features of this development plan for Reunion on pages 11, 12, 13 and 14.

## Major Features of Plan

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 7-8 Aug 82 pp 11-14

[Text] Reunionese are going through a vital stage in their history. This stage began on 10 May 1981 when the candidate of the left, the bearer of the French people's hopes, was elected president of the French Republic.

While he was a candidate in the presidential election, this president formulated a proposal for Overseas Departments [DOM]: Proposal 58 of his platform.

In its statement of 27 April 1981, right after the first round of voting, the Central Committee of the Communist Party said that the proposals of item 58 of Francois Mitterrand's platform constituted an acceptable framework for promoting social progress and development.

Since that date, things have taken definite shape. Reunion, like the other overseas departments, will have an assembly, elected by proportional vote and having the duty of administering both the department and the region.

At the end of the year, the president of the republic will promulgate the law that will adapt the law on the rights of communes, departments and regions to the specific characteristics of overseas departments.

This law, still in the planning stage, confirms the continuation of departmental status and is intended to put an end to all attempts by the right to institute proceedings for any change in status.

The law of decentralization and the measures for adaptation to DOM give Reunionese the political means for development. It is up to them to seize this opportunity.

We are confident that they will do so; the elections for the General and Regional Council will be held in 1983.

The conditions are now being created so that the reactionaries will be defeated; the left will win.

Then what will be its policy? What will its choices be? What solutions will it provide for Reunion's numerous, complex and definitely distressing problems?

The Reunionese Communist Party, which acquired its experience during 23 years of struggle at the side of vital forces and in favor of the most underprivileged, today makes its contribution to the great debate on development, its ways and its means.

### Appraisal

At a time when the left will be called on to direct the country's affairs, it is good to make an uncompromising appraisal of the policy followed by the right, a policy which has led to our present acknowledgment of a crisis.

But uncompromising does not mean unobjective. The Communist Party does not believe that everything, in connection with the policy followed during these last 20 years, is totally negative. There are many achievements which no one would think of challenging.

Over the years, Reunion has received significant funds which have made possible the establishment of numerous physical plants. Efforts have been made in the case of educational buildings, hospital establishments, works of art on major highways, hydroelectric equipment, etc.

The existence of a Road Fund, abundantly supplied by the contributions of motorists, has made possible a marked improvement in the highway system.

Socially, workers' struggles, which have always enjoyed the support of the Communist Party, have made it possible to extract social achievements which have been denounced by the right on every occasion, whether it is a question of wage guarantees (interoccupational minimum growth wage, collective wage agreements, etc.), extensions of social or family benefits, or legislation regarding unemployed workers.

A European-type lifestyle based on massive public transfers has developed against a background of underdevelopment and unemployment, giving the illusion of a country on the path of progress.

Reunion has not developed. It is growing without development. This is the result of our economic situation and its social consequences.

## 1. The Crisis of Production Sectors

The economy of Reunion is characterized by a crisis affecting production sectors: the primary sector and the secondary sector.

### A. Agriculture

Agricultural production is declining or stagnating.

In the case of sugar cane, although the plan for modernizing the sugar economy has been completed and we are beginning the consolidation plan, the goal of 300,000 tons of sugar has not been reached. The value of sugar production has only risen very slightly in recent years: 394,004,600 francs in 1978; 407,468,500 francs in 1979; 405,603,400 francs in 1980.

In the case of crops:

Reunion's second industrial crop, geraniums, has been going through a slow death for several years. Nothing serious has been done to save it. The proposed reconversion measures for the 3,000 planters have no guarantee and except for a few single operations, they are doomed to failure.

The vast majority of geranium planters do not even have the interoccupational minimum growth wage in order to live.

In the case of vetiver, the average annual increase in the price paid to the producer has remained below the rate of inflation in recent years, which means a decline in the purchasing power of these planters.

Tobacco, in which renewed interest is being shown, could bring an attractive return, but the cost of technical training and supervision and of various production aid is considerable. It was greater than the total value of production in 1980.

Livestock breeding is not developing as predicted either. It represented 26 percent of the gross agricultural product in 1975, whereas in 1979 it accounted for only 21 percent.

The current conditions under which cattle breeding is being carried out do not enable Reunion breeders to take full advantage of the advances made in breeding techniques.

#### B. Fishing

Fishing has not undergone the prodigious development promised by the Sixth Plan. It has even declined perceptibly.

For coastal fishing, offshore fishing and deep-sea fishing, 1980 was the worst year since 1975 (1,468 tons as opposed to 1,785 tons in 1979, 1,781 tons in 1978, etc.).

The refrigeration installations of Port de la Pointe des Galets, on the other hand, have been largely used by foreign shipowners.

Socially, the situation of fishermen is tragic and the right has not been able to provide them with a satisfactory solution.

The crisis in our primary sector is thus quite obviously apparent. It has caused a rural exodus and the labor force in agriculture, fishing and forestry, after being eroded between 1954 and 1971 (from 43,509 to 22,100), declined another 10 percent during the last decade (from 22,100 to 19,890 in 1980).

#### C. Industry

In assessing the promised industrial development, it must be noted that employment in this sector has continually declined, whereas the employable population has risen.

Although several hundred industrial jobs have been created, there have been thousands of layoffs in construction and the sugar industry in recent years.

In 1967, 21.8 percent of the working population worked in the secondary sector; this percentage dropped to 19.5 percent in 1976 and to 17.7 percent in 1979.

In the case of construction, the number of wage earners dropped from 14,400 in 1974 to 9,370 in 1979.

In other industries, fewer jobs were created between 1975 and 1979 (+729) than between 1970 and 1975 (+1,285).

Considering only wage earners, in 1981 the distribution among the various sectors was the following: public sector, 36,000 wage earners; private tertiary sector, 36,000; secondary sector, 17,000; primary sector, 6,000.

## 2. Growth Without Development

During the last two decades, there has not been any industrial development and our agricultural production has not increased.

In view of this situation and the very acute problems of different categories of workers, the right proceeded to make massive public transfers.

Reunion has become a consumer market. The growing demand for goods and services mainly affects imported products.

The value of imports has more than doubled between 1975 and 1980 (1,757,742,000 francs as opposed to 3,748,890,000 francs).

The level of imports covered by exports dropped to 14.8 percent in 1980.

### A. Employment, Social Situation, Emigration

Reunion's number-one problem is unemployment. It is not a question, as in France, of cyclical unemployment, a result of the current crisis and one that is likely to be resolved as the crisis abates; it is a matter of structural unemployment, resulting from underdevelopment, the population increase of the 1950's and 1960's and the effects of the world crisis.

But it has reached a never-equalled level in recent years. Moreover, underemployment has increased considerably: 1979: 109,000 jobs, of which 102,000 are permanent jobs and 7,000 are part-time jobs; 1979 [as published]: 112, 230 jobs, of which 70,530 are permanent jobs and 41,700 are part-time jobs.

The total number of unemployed, which was 29,000 in 1971, rose to 47,520 in 1979.

#### Social Inequalities:

The living conditions of the unemployed and their families are, of course, more than precarious. In 1981, 14,204 families received only Monthly [Unemployment] Benefits as their sole source of income.

In addition, the existence of high incomes, particularly those of professionals, classes A and B of government employees and the managerial staffs of the private sector, has led to glaring social inequalities which have justified the expression of "the two worlds of Reunion."

The interoccupational minimum growth wage used to be 1,233 francs per month. In the same year of 1977, 35,290 households, or 26.14 percent, representing 125,000 people, lived on monthly incomes of 1,000 francs; 78,500 households,

or 58.14 percent, had monthly incomes between 1,000 and 3,000 francs; 9,450 households, or 7.40 percent, had monthly incomes between 3,000 and 5,000 francs; 10,000 households, or 7.40 percent, had incomes of over 12,000 francs; 1,750 households, or 1.30 percent, had incomes of over 12,000 francs. [as published].

#### Family Benefits and Overall Parity:

With regard to family benefits, the rightist government did not meet the expectations of families. Not only did it fail to satisfy the legitimate demand for a family-benefits system as close as possible to that of France, but in 1980 it also decided to freeze the FASO [expansion unknown] allocation at its 1979 level, thus deliberately deviating from the principle of overall parity, which it had itself proclaimed.

Such a position is intolerable and the leftist government can only take a different approach in the coming years.

Regarding the use of FASO funds, it is unacceptable that they have long been used, and this has not completely stopped, for operations which are not in keeping with their designated purpose (AROF [expansion unknown], AREP [Reunionese Association for Popular Education], Military Preparatory School, ARAJUFA [expansion unknown]).

#### Emigration:

In view of the social situation created by unemployment and poverty, the government organized the emigration of young people in order to avoid an "explosion."

Carried out on a massive scale and not with the aim of advancing, but rather of getting rid of young people, emigration has led to the expatriation of 72,000 Reunionese (42,000 young men and 30,000 young women).

#### B. Health Care:

Health care in Reunion is characterized, in particular, by:

Priority being given to curative medicine rather than to preventive medicine.

Very high cost of health care in comparison to mediocre results.

For example, it may be noted that the number of cases of illnesses which must be reported did not decline between 1975 and 1979. The same is true of venereal diseases.

#### 3. Failure of the Policy of Assimilation

It is undeniable that a significant effort has been made to develop educational establishments, the education of Reunionese children and to recruit personnel for this purpose.

For the 1977-78 academic year, Reunion's education budget was 1 billion francs, or 14.6 percent of the Reunionese GNP [gross national product], compared with only 6 percent in France.

But this must not obscure the most important aspect, i.e., the failure of the Reunionese educational system.

No one denies it any longer today. The reasons for this failure are essentially: the very unfair socioeconomic and sociocultural conditions for tens of thousands of school children; the total unsuitability of teaching methods and programs; the language problem, which has not been attacked seriously and in the sole interest of Reunionese children.

#### B. Culture, Information and Freedom

A peculiarity of the Reunionese people is their diversity of ethnic composition.

Under its specific historic and economic conditions, the island has been populated by peoples from Europe, Africa, Madagascar, India and Asia.

Reunionese culture is defined by all the activities of the country's men and women.

Nothing has been done to help it to develop. Nothing has been done to facilitate exchanges with the region's peoples.

The rightist government's cultural policy was based on a desire for excessive assimilation. Such an approach is unacceptable. It is offensive to the dignity of Reunionese.

##### Information:

In a country in which illiteracy is very high and where printed matter is expensive, radio and television have an essential role.

The right had confiscated FR III. [expansion unknown].

Using that forum, for years it broadcast its propaganda, bombarded the population with its slogans and distorted the policy of leftist forces, mainly that of the Communist Party.

##### Freedom:

The exercise of real freedom means the possibility of exercising one's rights, starting with those declared in the constitution: the right to work, the right to health, the right to leisure, the right to an occupation, the right to culture, the right to information, the right to knowledge, the right to housing.

For the majority of Reunionese, the exercise of these rights could not be guaranteed during 25 years of rightist government.

Election fraud has tainted the political history of the last 24 years. As a result, the right has been able to keep its men in positions of responsibility.

Discreetly or openly, it has tampered with every principal election. The reactionaries are indebted today to the right for the positions to which they desperately cling.

This situation is not the result of inevitability.

The current economic, social, cultural and political situation derives, on one hand, from the legacy of the open colonial policy followed until 1946 and, on the other, from the policy of assimilation followed from 1946 to the present.

Economically, colonization had created a plantation society oriented during the last century toward producing sugar cane as its only crop. It was the basis of the domination of Reunionese society by a class of large landowners, manufacturers and merchants. It was a society of the tertiary sector and social welfare. It was a society of true colonial relationships between large landowners and manufacturers and day laborers, settlers, planters and workers; a period of dominant racism and contempt for all social categories and classes except this small ruling class.

The policy of assimilation pursued since 1946 has not been concerned about the country's development and allowed the traditional economic sector and this plantation society to decline. It artificially created another type of society based on massive public transfers, which gave birth to this society of the tertiary sector and social welfare.

At the same time, if the first world has been edged out by this second artificial world, the Reunionese economy has become more and more artificial, disjointed, disrupted and fragile.

There is no longer any cohesion, since there is no longer any self-centered development.

There is growth, due to the massive injection of foreign capital, but there is no real development.

The intensification of assimilation and the frenzied effort to adopt foreign models on every level have not eliminated the aftermath of two centuries of slavery and one century of commitment. Racism is one of the underlying features of Reunionese society, as is contempt for the native language, for non-European cultural values and the domination of women by men.

All of that must also change, for development is not possible without the cultural component.

Development and the ultimate end of massive, permanent emigration are some of the conditions for cultural expansion.

## The Means for a National Development Policy

### A. National Solidarity, Solidarity among Reunionese, Assigning Reunionese Responsibility

As a result of the new situation created on 10 May 1981, Reunionese men and women expect a new policy enabling them to live, work and make decisions in Reunion.

This new policy can be summarized by the following key phrase: development of the country; economic, social and cultural development.

Such development is possible by maintaining and increasing national solidarity, the necessary solidarity of Reunionese among themselves, and assigning Reunionese responsibility in managing the country's affairs.

National solidarity and the conditions for assigning responsibility to Reunionese are provided by the plan for adapting the decentralization law of 2 March 1982 in DOM.

On the other hand, solidarity of Reunionese among themselves is a matter of their own responsibility and their will to reestablish a national situation for moving toward a Reunion which will advance on the path of economic, social and cultural progress.

In order to achieve this goal, asking only the French Government and citizens to put forth an effort and refusing to participate personally in that effort, especially during this crisis period, would reveal a spirit of social welfare which would discredit all of the proposals listed for the country's recovery.

It is for this reason that, among the means to be used to develop the country, the call for solidarity among certain groups of Reunionese (in addition to national solidarity) will constitute both a requirement and a test regarding their determination to begin working seriously and to face courageously the considerable task to be accomplished everywhere in view of the heavy legacy of the past policy.

### B. Technical and Financial Means

To assure the country's development, conditions favorable to production should be created.

#### 1. Lowering Production Costs

- a) By affecting freight costs (increasing existing adjustments concerning raw materials imported from France or Europe).
- b) By seeking suppliers offering the best prices, regardless of the country (studying possible departures from national legislation and community regulations in this connection).

c) By reconsidering current regulations concerning the formation of prices of imported products (freezing or reducing percentage margins, control of port operations, etc.).

d) An Office of Foreign Trade will have to handle eliminating or solving the problems mentioned in paragraphs a, b and c.

e) By reducing and adjusting social expenses in agriculture and by increasing the duration of their assumption (totally or partially) by the government, in the case of new businesses providing jobs.

## 2. Protecting Local Production

To encourage the creation of new activities and the development of Reunionese production, its protection should be assured. However, such protection must not be provided at the expense of the island's economy in general by raising prices, restricting technical progress, creating circumstantial revenue, etc. The solution to this problem of protection can be found by:

a) Encouraging Reunionese to consume. The sale of Reunionese products must be promoted through appropriate processing and the use of large distribution systems.

b) Giving priority to local producers in the case of government contracts.

c) Adjusting port fees on the basis of development needs.

d) Possible adaptations of the Joint Customs Tariff (TDC).

## 3. Creating a Special Investment Fund (FIS)

Development requires a sizable mobilization of capital. But for development to be harmonious and consistent, funds available to investors must be centralized. An FIS should therefore be established, supplied mainly from funds derived from national solidarity and from solidarity among Reunionese themselves.

Funding of the FIS and mobilization of capital will be achieved as follows:

a) Participation of nationalized businesses by restricting 1 percent of their investments to Reunion, as provided by the law in Corsica.

b) Establishment of real overall parity in the case of family benefits, on one hand, and generalization of FASO on the other, to assure real and more extensive social redistribution.

c) Transferring to FIS funds deriving from gradual elimination of the 30-percent allowance on the IRPP (Personal Income Tax) and on corporate profits.

d) Payment to FIS of a percentage of the moving allowance granted to civil servants from the French mainland (a wish already expressed in 1970 by the local Planning Commission).

e) Participation of civil servants in the development effort by paying to FIS sums collected under the correction index.

An effort of the same nature will be requested of professionals.

f) Mobilization of local savings.

In addition to these proposals, existing measures should be retained and possibly improved: equipment allowances, employment allowances, exemption from professional tax, tax allowance, etc., short and medium-term loans at low interest rates for the creation of new businesses.

All of these measures will make it possible to annually mobilize a total sum of approximately 1 billion current francs (100 billion centimes).

#### 4. A New Income Policy

Everyone knows that excessive inequality in the case of incomes constitutes a decisive factor for an economy's imbalance, disruption and disintegration.

The reduction of social inequalities thus satisfies, on one hand, a legitimate concern for fairness and, on the other, a requirement of harmonious development and, finally, the duty of solidarity.

a) Raising low wages (increasing the interoccupational minimum growth wage, new wage agreements). The measures considered for lowering prime costs, protecting and promoting production, will enable businesses to meet the wage demands of workers.

b) Establishing a common basis of calculation for incomes in all sectors, based on the actual cost of living. Trade unions representing workers in these sectors will necessarily have to participate in the commission established for this purpose and which will be convened every year (annual conference of costs and incomes).

#### 5. Necessary Planning

The FIS and the various allowances, assistance and subsidies must not serve production chaotically. Production must be planned in a coordinated manner and with a view to the harmonious and consistent development of the country, in which all branches of activity must be considered and must have a reciprocal and dynamic effect on each other. From agriculture to crafts, from industry to tourism, along with fishing, forestry, new energy sources, education, cultural expression, etc., the whole economy must be rendered consistent for rebalancing its sectors and their harmonious development.

This requires an overall and consistent development plan which must be prepared as democratically as possible and whose features must not be in contradiction to the National Plan.

The features and projects of this National Plan must be established in coordination with the General and Regional Council, the Economic and Social Committee and major socioprofessional organizations.

In relation to development goals and following the decisions regarding the new port and new Takamaka power plant, these achievements will have to be oriented in particular toward major works concerning management (transfer of available water resources from the east to the north and west), energy (new power plants and renewable energy sources), transportation (highways and shipping), etc.

#### Possible Solutions

The consistent and overall development of Reunion implies a determination to rehabilitate and develop our economy's production sectors.

##### Agriculture

1. The goals to be achieved are obvious: maintaining and developing our means of foreign trade and diversifying crops; reducing imports of foodstuffs and moving toward self-sufficiency; stopping the rural exodus and upgrading agricultural professions in order to settle adults on the land firmly and lastingly and to encourage young people to commit themselves to agriculture; supplying the food-agricultural industries.
2. The means of achieving these goals: An Office of Agricultural Development (ODA), funded by the FIS, will be created for this purpose and will have the following duties: to make proposals for laying the foundations of an agriculture with viable property structures and also incorporating a revision of ground rent and of taxes (buildings on property and wages), tenant farming, recovery of uncultivated land, etc.; to list the possibilities of agricultural diversification, foreseeable yields, areas to be devoted to this and incentives to be provided; to provide training and supervision of farmers and training of youth; to negotiate with credit establishments the terms of secured loans, advances on harvests, etc.; to plan property improvements and operations, viable structures, irrigation, soil improvement and protection, control of experimental plots, etc.
3. The appropriateness of the means and objectives will make it possible: to maintain and to develop the production and productivity of agricultural operations for export: sugar cane, vanilla, geraniums, vetiver, tobacco, etc.; to promote the production of grain and fats; to continue and expand vegetable and fruit production; to really revive cattle breeding and to strengthen pork and sheep breeding, etc.
4. Planters and breeders will be supplied with farm equipment, fertilizer, herbicides, pesticides, livestock feed, etc., through the Office of Foreign Trade (OCE), which will be in charge of managing and handling the import and distribution of the equipment and products in question insofar as such supplies cannot be provided locally.
5. It is obvious that all of the measures considered must have a viable and reliable distribution system, both inside and outside the region.

Finally, the establishment of this dynamics of Reunionese agriculture will result in a dynamics of creating permanent and seasonal jobs.

## Fishing

Fishing has a triple goal: to reduce the volume of our imports; to make our products a significant aspect of trade; to raise the level of employment.

The means to be implemented will involve:

- 1) Coastal fishing, with: protective and regulatory measures; raising the incomes of fishermen by reducing their taxes and operating expenses and providing a social security service in proportion with that guaranteed to other categories of the working population; increasing the resources available to them by arranging and constructing reception structures necessary for good working conditions as well as through financial incentives: equipment subsidies, reduced fuel taxes, etc.
- 2) Marine and fresh-water aquaculture. This production and job-creating sector deserves to be developed. Of the preliminary measures implemented, it will be necessary to regulate and intensify existing activities and to launch others, while giving consideration to the existing possibilities: warm waters, climate, latitude, etc., and taking care to maintain ecological balances.
3. Offshore and industrial fishing. Although the former has undergone jagged variations, real possibilities still exist. Support for the development of Reunionese shipping, organization of the local market and the development of processing techniques (canneries, refrigeration, salting and smoking) can lead to a significant development of this activity, which must be considered within the context of regional cooperation.

## Industry

The Reunionese subsoil's absence of raw materials limits our possibilities. But we must not rule out, ultimately, the exploitation of marine and underwater reserves: mineral salts, plankton, polymetallic nodules, etc.

In the near future, consideration must be given to our island's agricultural-type economy.

### 1) The Sugar Industry

Strengthening the sugar industry has a twofold purpose: to cover our sugar needs and export trade.

In addition, we must add the possibilities of industrial processing of cane products other than sugar: bagasse, molasses, dyes, plastics, etc., making it possible to consider the creation of refineries, distilleries and sugar chemistry enterprises.

### 2) The New Industries

There are several types: a) Food-Agricultural: These are based on agricultural diversification: oil mills, starch works, biscuit factories, canneries, etc. b) Factories for soaps, cosmetics, perfumes. They can be developed from local

species and partially imported products. c) Other industrial plants: At the same time, new industries can be developed from imported raw materials. Assembly lines for durable goods, manufacturing paints, varnishes, etc.

### 3) Training and Supervision Measures

The reasons for the failure of the industrial plans previously devised are basically due to two factors: high production costs and the absence of protection for local production.

It is therefore necessary to combat these factors through two types of measures: a) protective measures and b) financial and tax incentives.

### 4) The Driving Force of the Economy: Public Capital

Although the mobilization of private capital is important, it is nevertheless true that the driving force of the Reunionese economy, for a long time to come, will be public capital: thus the essential role of the region's participation in the process of our island's industrialization.

#### Crafts

Crafts was formerly a sector of activity which played a particularly important role in economic life. It has been edged out today and yet possibilities still exist. They must be utilized. The policy to be adopted is one of reviewing the problem of taxes previously required of craftsmen, while at the same time necessarily devising a series of measures incorporating them into a plan of dynamism and profitability for operators and the community. Training and information will accompany and support this undertaking of upgrading crafts.

#### Tourism

Priority must be given to domestic tourism, whose potential market has greater specific importance. Satisfying the needs of Reunionese results in investments and the creation of jobs. The contribution of foreign tourism will obviously not be neglected.

#### Transportation

The new transportation policy must give consideration to the island's social and economic realities.

Because of the rural exodus, underemployment and, finally, the important activity of construction, Reunionese labor is a mobile labor force. That is a basic social characteristic.

Moreover, because Reunion imports "much" of what it consumes and because it exports "much" of its production, more than 1 million tons of goods are transported over the country's roads. That is an important economic characteristic.

Thus the cost of transportation can be a decisive factor in stimulating or slowing the economy and an extremely important factor in determining the cost of production and the cost of living.

### 1) Passenger Transportation:

One of the basic features of the policy of the right was to favor individual transportation at the expense of collective transportation.

This was one of the reasons for the increase in fuel consumption and road investments. This policy accentuated the gap between those able to own a car and those for whom this is only a dream.

Two features will probably be retained: construction of an interurban expressway connecting cities and combining speed and reliability; organization of a dense network of bus lines serving all communities in the interior and connecting with the interurban expressway. This could be covered under an agreement between public transportation companies and a community participation plan.

The organization of urban transportation will have to be facilitated with the participation of 1 percent of the total wages of companies in communes with more than 100,000 inhabitants, withheld for that purpose, and a contribution of the same nature from companies in communes with over 30,000 inhabitants.

### 2) Transportation of Goods

As a result of seasonal activities (cutting of cane, transport of sugar to Le Port, etc.), existing vehicles are often underused. A plan for maximum use of the current fleet should therefore be prepared in accordance with transportation companies and with the participation of the regional government.

### 3) Ocean and Air Transportation

In addition to the proposals concerning freight, we are also making proposals for the organization of mixed regional ocean and air transportation companies among the islands of the southwest Indian Ocean.

### Energy

The development policy must be accompanied by an energy policy whose major features could be the following:

Regarding electricity production: Giving priority to hydroelectric energy: extremely thorough studies will have to be made to determine all possibilities for developing hydroelectric power; giving the greatest consideration to geo-thermal energy and to projects undertaken in this area in the country; reorienting the production of electricity of thermal origin to fuels other than oil and gas (bagasse and coal).

Regarding the reduction of domestic energy imports: making use of the possibilities offered by bagasse for moving toward the production of methane and reducing imports of butane; making use again of wood and bagasse pellets for cooking through a plan for producing "portable stoves" and equipment for existing and future state-owned housing; systematic use of solar energy for heating household water, obligatory equipment for government housing, serious incentives for individual construction and even a schedule of fines.

Regarding the use of all possibilities: developing research in the area of wind energy, tidal power and energy from the sea.

#### Territorial Development

The goal is to end investment giving priority to Saint-Denis and creating an unbalanced situation for the rest of the island.

Regional zones of balance should be defined (the north, beginning with Saint-Denis; the east, beginning with Saint-Benoit and Saint-Andre; the south, starting with Saint-Pierre, Tampon and Saint-Louis; the west, starting with Saint-Paul and Le Port). These zones will be equipped with various structural facilities, infrastructures and centers of activity.

It is on the basis of this delimitation that investments of regional interest will be planned and implemented.

A policy of disenclavement, relying on the establishment of structural facilities in an effort to balance the regional zones, will have to help eliminate the imbalances between city and countryside (for example, connection between Saint-Louis-Tampon via Ravine des Cabris, Bras de Pontho).

Finally, the establishment of various infrastructures and the development of city planning will have to give consideration to the urgent need to protect farmlands and to respect the lifestyle of Reunionese.

#### Housing

In the area of housing, priority must be given to government and very government housing. The policy of government housing must be revived. It requires: that the public community start a policy of property reserves; that funds allocated for the construction of government housing be increased; that the conditions for their use be reviewed and in particular, that it be possible for future occupants to participate in the construction of their housing, which will reduce the cost; that the rent of SIDR, SHLMR and LTS [expansions unknown] housing possibly be standardized in order to bring about a social transfer; that housing benefits be extended to families who do not meet the present activity criterion; in rural areas, that projects for creating villages be studied. This formula would have the advantage of reducing the expenses for making the projects viable, of facilitating the development of associated lifestyles and of organization.

With regard to resources, in addition to an increase in government funds, the FASO's participation in financing the policy of very government housing can be considered.

#### Employment

The creation of jobs is one of the goals of the new policy proposed by the Reunionese Communist Party.

Economic, social and cultural development is the required condition for this.

The revival of agriculture, fishing, industry, construction and public works, the development of crafts, tourism, transportation, and the increase in personnel in certain government administrations, trades and services will make it possible to create stable and sufficiently remunerative jobs.

However, in view of the massive and structural unemployment, the lack of skills of a large part of the available labor force, it will be necessary--in order to employ as many people as possible--to have temporary jobs for a long time to come. This is a temporary situation, but one resulting from the objective limitations of the present situation. This means the resumption, but in another spirit and on an infinitely greater scale, of development projects.

It should be noted that in the case of temporary jobs, a sizable percentage of them must be reserved for youth (supervised studies, "literacy" campaign, organization of related activites, etc.), women (small projects of community interest, such as the maintenance of public parks, open areas, increasing the number of day-care centers, etc.) and thousands of "construction workers" through "government housing projects" for direct construction of their government housing.

The creation of stable, full-time jobs, on one hand, and of temporary jobs, on the other, receiving the interoccupational minimum growth wage will make it possible to offer work to an additional 12,000 or 15,000 Reunionese men and women every year.

But such an effort, without precedent in the country's history, will not make it possible to permanently solve the problem of unemployment or underemployment. It will take more than a generation to solve this problem.

Regional cooperation (see below) will have to offer possibilities of employment for young Reunionese men and women.

#### Emigration

The decline in the number of departures for France shows the limits of emigration, which the right has always considered a solution to the problem of unemployment.

Under no circumstances should emigration be considered as such.

However, considering the pressure of unemployment, it would be illusory to believe that it could be stopped overnight.

There will always be departures for France. Voluntarily. Young people must be prepared for them (professionally, psychologically and through objective information). An appropriate agency, in coordination with the Planning Commission, should guide young people toward jobs in France, jobs likely to be subsequently created in Reunion's development process. Thus young people holding such jobs in France would appear to be more like specializing there, in order to later return to their country and participate in its development, rather than as permanent exiles as a result of their employment in sectors which Reunion will never have.

Finally, the living conditions of emigres in France must be improved. And their return to the island (on vacation or otherwise) must likewise be facilitated. Measures to this effect have already been taken by the leftist government.

### Social Policy

The Communist Party's goal is to improve the population's living conditions by developing the country.

The social measures which it proposes are definitely in keeping with this goal. In particular, they should not contribute to our economy's imbalances.

#### 1. Social and Family Benefits

Family policy must be based on one principle: In general, Reunionese children must not receive benefits less than those received by French children.

The proposals are as follows:

Implementation of true overall parity; all benefits are extended to Reunion at the rate at which they are set in France.

They shall be provided to Reunionese families, in part directly and in part in the form of social redistribution: This means an expanded and reorganized FASO.

All families of wage earners will share in this institution of FASO (both the public and private sectors).

The activity criterion, providing entitlement to family benefits, will be eliminated in the near future, which means that all Reunionese families will share in the funding of the FASO.

The FASO's receipts at the present time, approximately 124 million francs, will be able to reach 350 million francs.

#### 2. Social Redistribution

What we call social redistribution is all services and benefits in kind which will be provided individually or collectively to Reunionese families.

The major features of this social redistribution will be: A major public dining hall service with dietetic supervision, teacher training and training of personnel assigned to organize leisure-time activities; participation in the generalization of supervised studies in elementary and secondary schools; participation in the new government housing policy; various programs for occupational training and inclusion of young people in economic activities.

#### 3. Other Social Measures

The social role of development projects must not be underestimated. The funds allocated to them must be increased appreciably.

Measures should be taken to improve working conditions.

Dining halls should be organized for enterprises in zones with a high concentration of workers (docking facilities, industrial areas, large construction sites).

The purchasing power of workers should be improved through increased wages and effective control of prices.

In the fundamental area of housing, the criteria for receiving housing benefits should be reviewed in order to extend these benefits to as many people as possible.

#### Education

From nursery school to higher levels, education must be suited to the reality and needs of Reunion, especially concerning its development. The content of education will have to take into account this requirement and also the geographical context of Reunion and its history. However, the purpose of education is to enable everyone to gain access to universal culture by means of a tool of privileged communication: the French language.

The new ministerial provisions concerning regional native languages must be applied in the case of creole, which must be accepted not only in schools but everywhere: in government agencies, in the courts, on the radio, on television, etc.

Finally, substantial measures will be applied to help children of the most underprivileged classes: free school dining halls from nursery schools to the last year of high school, full scholarships, free school transportation and school needs, organization of supervised studies starting in elementary classes, etc.

The location of schools will have to be established in a democratic way to assure equitable access to establishments.

#### Health Care

Priority must be granted to preventive medicine.

The location of health care facilities, determining the establishment of hospitals, must be established in the interest of patients. We will give preference to small hospital units equitably distributed throughout the territory (diagnostic and health care centers, maternity centers, local hospitals, convalescent centers, medical-teaching institutions).

The goal is to assure the right to health care for everyone, regardless of social standing.

Finally, there must be lookout health services with the necessary means for protecting the island against the importation of disease.

## Old Age

New living conditions must be created for elderly people.

Pensions or retirement incomes must be granted to those over 60 years old who have no incomes, as well as benefits for "small pensioners," etc., so that they can live properly.

So that they can receive care under good conditions, in particular a corps of home nurses should be established for aiding elderly people.

They should have specially provided housing in each district undergoing renovation or in new urban areas so that they are not cut off from their families, their neighbors and society and placed in locations "apart," which is often the case today.

## Information

A public information service for Reunion must be based on the essential fact that there are 100,000 illiterate or semi-illiterate persons here.

Public information must enable the population to comprehend all aspects of daily life (reasons for budgetary constraints, possibilities of progress, etc.), to participate in the development effort, to understand the world in which they live and the surrounding world, to be sympathetic to the great struggles of humanity (against hunger, for peace, etc.), to express themselves concerning their daily problems, to be informed, to be educated and to be entertained.

This is the role to be played by the FR3. A commission, headquartered in Saint Denis and whose composition shall be pluralistic, will handle the selection of television and radio programs. Measures must be taken to assure the pluralism of the written press.

## Culture

The access of Reunionese to world culture does not imply that they should deny or despise their own culture.

On the contrary, Reunion's cultural heritage must be protected and developed in all its aspects.

The creole language, which constitutes the basis of this cultural, historical and popular heritage, must be studied, enriched and developed.

A coordinating agency, with the means for action and combining all cultural currents and associations, will prepare a vast program for cultural action: historical research, a survey of cultural assets, expressions in theater, literature, music, the plastic arts, dance, song, etc.

The resources for such a cultural policy will be sought in related activities, cinema, radio, television and exchanges between Reunion and neighboring countries, France and other countries.

## Regional Redeployment

As a French department in the Indian Ocean, Reunion can no longer ignore its geographic environment. Thus one of the conditions of the island's long-term development is to center it in its regional context.

This is also in keeping with the French Government's policy of aiding Third World countries.

Starting with transfers of public funds from France to Reunion, the market thus created can, through integrated plans with neighboring countries, share in the implementation of this French Government policy.

For example, Reunion's market of 50,000 tons of rice can be supplied by Madagascar, insofar as a respective production plan can be implemented.

Similarly, cooperation between Reunion and the countries of the southwest Indian Ocean (Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles, Comoros, countries of the east African coast) is desirable in areas as varied as fishing, weather forecasting, agricultural, oceanographic, energy and basic research, etc. Let us not forget that this region has a population of more than 12 million inhabitants.

Regional development projects must be implemented with additional facilities to be installed in different countries, in accordance with specific plans and the interests of each of our countries. In the area of culture, in which most of the peoples of these countries have common roots, the broadest possible exchanges must be carried out. Communication between our peoples is facilitated even more since our countries are multilingual, French- and creole-speaking. Which should open the way to rapid increase in the power of the radio transmitters of nine countries and cooperation in radio and television.

Such all-round cooperation will require exchanges of population, not only for tourism but also for work and business. Young Reunionese will be able to take their rightful place in such future cooperation.

Such frequent exchanges, which may become massive, will pose transportation problems. Shipping and air line companies must be established. They will be semipublic corporations with the participation of all islands of the southwest Indian Ocean.

Finally, in order for it to succeed fully, this regional redeployment policy requires that Reunionese public officials not be as opposed as at the present time to the leaders of those countries.

A consensus for development is necessary, which rules out any neocolonialist thinking, and an attitude of constant exchange on an equal basis and for mutual benefit.

Such regional cooperation will be a significant contribution toward making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, as desired by the governments of countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and the French Government. This will also be an effective support for front-line African countries fighting together with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia against apartheid.

## Conclusion

We said in the beginning of this document that we are on the eve of an historic period for Reunion.

In fact, regardless of the current fluctuations due to the first months of the left in power, the liquidation of the heritage of the past, the consequences of the crisis, etc., it must be borne in mind that the left is in power for 7 years, and probably for 14 or 20 years, i.e., until the year 2000.

We must, at all costs, seize this opportunity, with the left in power for a long time to come in the French Republic, to carry out the historic task of developing the country.

The appropriateness of the situations in Reunion and in France, with progressive forces in power, which has punctuated the great dates of Reunion's history, is entering a new phase; the Revolution of 1848, the period of the Popular Front; liberation in France; and today, the left in power for a long time.

We must be aware of this situation, seize this opportunity and be deserving of it.

Le Port, 4 August 1982

11915  
CSO: 4719/1308

SENEGAL

BRIEFS

IDB LOAN--The Islamic Development Bank (IDB), an instrument of the Islamic Conference (ICO), has just awarded Senegal a U.S. \$15 million loan, equal to about Fr CFA 4.5 billion. This sum is to be used to finance the importation of soya oil. [Text] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 4 Aug 82 p 1] 9516

PAIM ORIENTATION--Following our article (in last Saturday's edition) on the 14th of Senegal's political parties, the African Party for the Independence of the Masses (PAIM), the secretary general of that organization has advised us that PAIM is "not exactly Marxist-Leninist, but rather socialist." "It draws its inspiration," he said, "from African village life, from African socialism, combining it with the methods of scientific socialism." PAIM is headed by Aly Niane (secretary general), Abdou Bane, Ablaye Siby and Issa Diop. [Text] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 3 Aug 82 p 4] 9516

CSO: 4719/1279

IN-DEPTH RESEARCH ON CREOLE LANGUAGE INCREASING

Victoria NATION in French 21 Aug 82 p 12

[Article by A. Toualbi: "The Creole Section Fully Engaged in Research"]

[Text] The Creole Section has undertaken a gigantic task over the past 3 months. This task centers around four main areas: research, formulation of teaching methods, training and evaluation of materials and training.

The major element of this task is unquestionably research that is the subject of very special attention and that takes two directions, one being standardization of written Creole, especially through the preparation of a grammar, the other being research in education.

Working from the basic principle that Creole has for a long time been essentially a spoken language, in-depth linguistic research was deemed indispensable so that the passage from the spoken to the written might take place in accordance with standards aimed at clarifying the meaning and value of words and at showing grammatical forms and structure.

Spoken and Written Language

The spoken language is basically different from the written one in that it is very much subjective in nature. As soon as one speaks, one has recourse not only to words themselves but also, and at times especially so (a baby that still cannot speak still manages to make itself understood), to clarifying talk with all kinds of expressions, from looks, from the face that lightens up, gestures, the tone which may contain various feelings, such as joy, anger, sadness, surprise, etc. Moreover, and justly so, because it is enriched by all kinds of human expressions, the spoken language can do without precision, nuances, exactness. If, while speaking, one were to neglect respecting a strict grammatical point, if one were to make errors, to repeat oneself, to be redundant, i.e., all kinds of expressions that are not indispensable to understanding, such as "ou konnen," "zot," [as published] "be," etc., which in linguistic terminology are called emphatic, connotive, denotative, etc., that would not take away anything from its richness because a word is not developed in isolation (except that today through the use of

tape recorders which all the same record all the intonations of the voice and the redundances that support speech) but is molded and given life by man.

All this subjectivity, all of these redundances, inaccuracies, intonations, gestures, all completely disappear in writing. As soon as words are put on paper, they are detached from their prop, i.e., man; they no longer exist save by themselves and can therefore form a logical and coherent sequel only through very strict, very objective forms, namely linguistics and grammar which serve in expressing thought as precisely, clearly and logically as possible. Each word, each grammatical structure must therefore have a rather pronounced value to suffice unto itself and guarantee a perfect understanding of what is being expressed.

#### Standardization

This passage to writing, to making thought objective, implies standardization of language, formulation of rules that are not chance events but are built on the most generally expressed tendencies and on the evolution of language itself in its history linked to the history of the people who speak it.

This standardization did not exist and therefore needed to be developed. This explains the great confusion the Seychellois had to put up with when going from the spoken to the written stage of Creole, changes primarily in writing, but also in words and grammatical constructions occurring as soon as one better understood the forms of language. But these changes still did not mean standardization. They were experimentations, experimentations which, although they are the sign of an intention for exactness, nevertheless end up by having disruptive effects if they do not quickly approach a standard, a set of rules resulting not from chance discoveries but from an in-depth research into the functioning of language.

#### Creole Grammar

Therefore, various studies are in progress for preparing a Creole grammar or, to be more exact, a Seychelles grammar since Creole varies from one country to another.

In 3 months, several studies have been successfully undertaken by Mrs Marie Therese Choppy with the help of a French technical adviser. Among other things, one of these studies consisted in seeking the various values of and the different meanings given to the particle "i"; another in finding the many ways to express time in the Seychelles language. No less than 38 possible ways have thus been found to express the notion of time, a number so unusual in the history of languages that this in itself shows the undreamt-of richness of Seychelles Creole.

The results of the studies will be incorporated into a grammar, the first section of which will be ready in December, in advance of the next school year.

## Research

Parallel to this work in formulating a standard for Creole, research has also been undertaken in education. These other studies are aimed at determining the functioning of children, at school, in the family, in society, so as to adapt the appropriate educational methods accordingly and on the basis of the first instrument with which they express themselves, namely language. This broad socio-linguistic study nevertheless requires human means that the Creole Section, despite all the good will that it has put into the task, cannot by itself offer, so reduced in size is it today. For this reason, this socio-linguistic study, as well as the work carried out on the language itself, cannot unfortunately be conducted to the desired scale. Thus, this vast linguistic task would require either an increase in the personnel in the Creole Section or the establishment of a research section made up of a large and sound team, as far as training is concerned, that can only be strongly called for, so fundamental is it to lay solid linguistic foundations to involve not only language but, above all, today's students who will tomorrow carry on, on healthy bases, the evolution toward the way for a sure general blossoming out, so true is the fact that knowing and understanding one's own language better, one gets to know and understand oneself better, while at the same time getting to know and understand others better.

5671  
CSO: 4719/1347

BRIEFS

ATTORNEY-GENERAL SACKED--DURBAN--President Albert Rene, of the Seychelles, refused to give the Attorney-General of the island, Mr Barnard Rassool, a hearing when he sacked him last Tuesday, according to informed Government sources on the island. Mr Rassool was sacked from office after a brief interview with President Rene. His dismissal has shocked senior Government officials. The Citizen learnt this week that when Mr Rassool asked for an explanation for his dismissal, President Rene declined to give one. The sacking comes three weeks after an uprising by rebellious troops on the island which was eventually smashed by forces loyal to President Rene. Government sources said, however, that Mr Rassool was not implicated in the uprising in any way. He has been replaced by a senior State counsel, Mr Pesi Pardiwalla, who was formerly a senior State counsel in the Capital of Victoria. Mr Rassool led the prosecution in the trial of four mercenaries, Aubrey Brooks, Roger England, Bernard Carey and Jeremiah Puren, who are now facing the death sentence. He helped both the prosecution and the defence when the Pietermaritzburg hijack trial went to the Seychelles to hear evidence. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 p 8]

CSO: 4700/1887

SOMALIA

SOJA CHAIRMAN VISITS CHINA

Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 27 Aug 82 p 6

[Article by Sonna]

[Text] MOGADISHU, Thursday — The President of the Somali Journalists Association (SOJA), Jaalle Ahmed Omar Ashari, now visiting People's Republic of China at the head of a Somali delegation, has briefed high placed Chinese officials on the simmering situation currently prevailing in the Horn of Africa which has been further aggravated by the naked aggression committed against the SDR by Ethiopia and her allies in their armed attack on Somali territory.

Jaalle Ashari told the Chinese comrades about Somalia's strong desire for the maintainance of peace and order in the region based on good neighbourliness and cited as a living example President Siad's repeated offer to meet with the Ethiopian leadership

anywhere at any time in order to find a sound solution to the problems existing between the two countries.

Meanwhile, another delegation from the Somali Ministry of Information & National Guidance left for Peking on an invitation extended to it by the Chinese Government.

The delegation which will be headed by the General Manager of the National Theatre, Jaalle Abdi Hashi, a member of the National Assembly, is composed of journalists, composers, playwrights, and academicians.

The Assistant Minister of Information and National Guidance, Dr. Khalif Musa Samatar, in a brief address on the occasion referred to the cordial and deep rooted friendly relations between the two countries

and peoples and urged members of the delegation to benefit from their visit and to make the best possible use of this opportunity.

The Charge d'Affaires of the Peoples China Embassy in Mogadishu,

in his turn, said that the invitation to the delegation was salient characteristic of the growing mutual cooperation of the two nations, particularly in the fields of culture and art.

CSO: 4700/1927

REFERENDUM ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS URGED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

**WE HOPE** the Prime Minister will reconsider his decision not to hold a referendum on the Government's constitutional proposals.

Evidence there is plenty that there is considerable opposition to the plan.

This comes mainly from the Afrikaner Right — the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party — but the Free State congress of the National Party made it clear there is also considerable concern among some Nationalists as well.

Mr Botha told the congress that "at the moment I see no necessity to hold a referendum. The NP has a two-thirds majority in Parliament."

He had stated that he would hold a referendum if there were a "drastic departure from NP principles.

"I did not say I would hold a referendum if there were a drastic departure from the status quo."

There had been a drastic departure from the status quo, but there had not been a departure from NP principles.

The status quo gave no political rights to the Coloured people, and this was not an NP principle.

Mr Botha also made it clear that the Government would see out the remaining four years of its term of office.

### No mandate

It is true that the Government has the power to pass whatever reform legislation it likes.

But it did not get a specific mandate from the electorate to introduce the reform

plan as it is being drafted.

When the last election was held, the President's Council had not reported on constitutional reform; the Government had not indicated what line it would take if and when the council reported.

The Prime Minister has admitted that the plan deviates from that which the NP put forward in 1977.

Moreover, the plan has still to be worked out in its fullest detail.

When it is completed, the plan should go before the nation; the approval of National Party provincial congresses to the principles involved is not enough.

No plan thrust down the throats of opponents, without their being given their chance to register their opposition, will succeed in the long run.

It is true that opposition to the plan will not melt away if a referendum shows that the majority of South Africans approve the plan. But at least the nation's will will have been tested and the minority will have to abide by the view of the majority, as happened in the case of the referendum on the Republic.

It is said that the Government will not hold a referendum for fear of losing it, but even though there is growing opposition to the reform plan, we doubt whether the anti-reform forces will mus-

ter a majority.

### Will back it

Indeed, when it comes to a referendum, the mainly English-speaking Opposition parties, the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party, will throw their support behind the Government on the basis that some reform, whatever its limitations, is better than none.

Already the New Republic Party has offered the PFP an election pact in the Johannesburg North by-election — the NRP to stand back provided the PFP reconsiders its rejection of the reform proposals, which the NRP considers to "be the start of a new initiative."

We can be sure the NRP, although it has some reservations, will come out for the plan in a referendum.

The PFP, whatever it says now, will also support it, we believe, on the ground that what the Government proposes is at least the beginning of the reform process.

However, it is not on the basis of speculation on the possible outcome that our suggestion for the holding of a referendum (or an election) is based.

It is that the plan drastically changes the face of the country and the nation should be given the opportunity to say "yes" or "no" to it.

CSO: 4700/1887

HOGAN JOINED A CONSPIRACY CLAIMS STATE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 p 5

[Text]

When Miss Barbara Hogan joined the African National Congress (ANC) it was an act of conspiracy with the organisation to overthrow the State and this, together with other overt acts she had committed, proved that she should be found guilty of high treason, the Pretoria Supreme Court was told, yesterday.

Mr J A Swanepoel, for the State, submitted in his argument that it was inferred from Miss Hogan's "unlawful" acts, that they were committed with hostile intent to overthrow, coerce or endanger the Government.

Miss Hogan (30), of Yéoville, Johannesburg has pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice A P van Dyk to a charge of high treason. She also pleaded not guilty to an alternative charge of furthering the ANC's aims but guilty to being a member of the ANC.

Various overt acts allegedly committed by her indicated her intention to further the ANC's aims and constituted a conspiracy with it, Mr Swanepoel said.

She received instructions from the ANC and agreed to carry them out. This indicated that the matter to which the

instructions related was of importance to the ANC and could further its aims.

"In her evidence she received the following instructions. To send articles of an academic nature that would give a picture of the South African situation to the ANC; to take a job in the Urban Training Project; to study unemployment; to explore ways of setting up a movement for the unemployed and to set up such a movement.

"She admits she established a communications network with the ANC. It is submitted that this act was clearly committed in furtherance of the aims of the ANC and constitutes a conspiracy with the ANC," Mr Swanepoel said.

She also learnt a secret code for communicating with the ANC and compiled and sent documents that clearly contained information required by the ANC.

She was instructed by the ANC to explore the possibility of setting up an organisation for the unemployed in order to prevent scab labour from breaking strikes. To this end she negotiated with the South African Allied workers Union.

"Her allegation that unemployed workers would be organised only for their own ben-

efit — is untrue," Mr Swanepoel said.

The aim was to strengthen the position of workers as tools to apply pressure and cripple or prejudice industries. It was clear that she conspired with Marius Schoon and Steven to further the aims of the ANC.

"It is submitted that she associated herself with all the aims of the ANC."

Defence Counsel, Mr G Bizos counter-argued: "Miss Hogan's main contention is that, in view of the nature of the ANC as an organisation, the diversity of its objects, policies and methods and her expressed dissociation from its policy to overthrow the State by violence or other means, she is not guilty of treason or terrorism.

"The State seeks Miss Hogan's conviction on the charge of treason and terrorism because she became a member of the ANC. But mere membership of the ANC does not make one guilty.

The hearing continues today.

SUPPRESSION OF GENERAL VAN DEN BERGH'S EVIDENCE CLAIMED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 21 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Tony Stirling: "Stop! Don't Charge the General"]

[Text]

A top-level police report sent to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, asked for the evidence of General Hendrik van den Bergh to the Erasmus Commission to be suppressed "in the interests of the country."

The suggestion not to make public the evidence of General van den Bergh to the commission emerges in a report sent to Mr Botha under the signature of the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys.

The report was compiled after an investigation of charges of alleged contempt of commission against General van den Bergh by Brigadier Theo Scherman, chief of the Commercial Branch, which related to utterances by the former Secretary for National Security on the findings of the commission.

The report strongly recommended that the charges of alleged contempt of commission against General van den Bergh should be dropped because of the possibility that his evidence would become public.

The desirability of a prosecution was viewed as "highly questionable."

The report criticised the evidence on which a number of findings were made by the commission against General van den Bergh.

In recommending that the general should not be prosecuted the report referred to four highly sensitive projects of such a nature that the revealing of details about them could do the country untold damage and "undoubtedly have international repercussions."

The report also suggested there was merit in some of the allegations General van den Bergh had made concerning the commission.

In this regard, the report referred to evidence that the commission's chairman, Mr Justice R P B Erasmus, had given General van den Bergh an assurance that nothing could happen to him as a result of giving evidence and that the evidence would remain secret.

It said there was thus merit in the suggestion by General van

den Bergh to a reporter that the commission's task was to investigate the affairs of the former Department of Information, but that he had suddenly found himself judged.

One passage of the finding that General van den Bergh "threw his weight around" relating to the whole matter of the Reynders' report was backed up by a reference to a paragraph in the report "which does not appear therein."

In another reference to a commission finding against General van den Bergh, the report refers to evidence he gave on a highly secret project which he used to illustrate his relationship with the former State President, Mr John Vorster (when Mr Vorster was Prime Minister).

The report stated that General van den Bergh was interrupted in giving this evidence by Judge Erasmus on the grounds that it was irrelevant. But the same piece of evidence had later been used to make the finding that General van den Bergh was "the power behind the throne."

The report was also critical of the finding that General van den Bergh had tried to influence the election of a prime minister by forcing the Boss accountant, Mr Louw

Reynders, to bring out a false report on the finances of the former Department of Information.

This finding had been made on evidence by Mr Reynders after Mr Reynders had earlier repeatedly denied that he had any fear of General van den Bergh or had been forced to hand in his report concerning his investigation into the department's finances.

This finding was also made without putting the evidence of Mr Reynders to General van den Bergh, who had testified later.

A number of other critical remarks on the findings against General van den Bergh were made in the report.

In giving its reasons why General van den Bergh should not be prosecuted, the report said: "When note is taken of the evidence on which the (Erasmus) commission made its detrimental findings in regard to General van den Bergh and the real danger that the evidence could be made public in a court, the desirability of a prosecution against General van den Bergh is very strongly questionable."

Relating to the sensitivity of portions of General van den Bergh's evidence, the report said: "It is strongly recommended that the Government

considers a decision be taken in the interests of the country not to make public the evidence of the Erasmus Commission under any circumstances."

Portions of General van den Bergh's evidence were, in fact, not published when the evidence given to the Commission was made public.

The report of the Attorney General of the Transvaal, Mr J E Nothling, SC, also recommended that General van den Bergh should not be charged.

It said that while contempt charges against General van den Bergh were justified, he could not recommend prosecution because of the danger that in attempting to test the commission's findings General van den Bergh would ask the court to make available his evidence to the commission and that of other witnesses.

Even if such evidence was given in camera it would come into the hands of defence counsel ("Advocate S Kentridge, I understand," said the report) and the court personnel.

So, despite harmful consequences to the administration of justice, including a "terrible row in the Press," Mr Nothling said that, for the reason quoted, he had decided against prosecuting General van den Bergh.

#### Evidence of an Illness Was Hidden

General Hendrik van den Bergh, former Secretary for National Security, received prolonged treatment for blackouts which occurred periodically while he was on duty.

Astonishingly, the nature of the general's illness was kept a secret from the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, as Minister in charge of National Security.

He learnt the details from a civil servant informant only around May 1979, weeks before he was compelled to resign as State President over his role in the Information scandal.

Two of Mr Vorster's closest confidants have confirmed the details to The Star. A third was sworn to secrecy to prevent the facts becoming public.

One of General van den Bergh's closest friends has also confirmed the details.

He said that in or about 1973 he became aware that General van den Bergh was suffering from periodic blackouts, as well as severe migraine headaches, which immobilised him at work.

"When he had a blackout, he would simply collapse forward on to his desk," said the source.

He named three doctors who were aware of General van den Bergh's problems, and tried to treat him.

These attacks, according to the source, had taken place about once in six weeks and apparently dated back to a time after General van den Bergh had suffered a severe electric shock at his Bapsfontein farm, about 12 years ago.

Two senior civil servants, who were said to know about General van den Bergh's illness, denied all knowledge of the matter.

But four informants have supplied The Star with details to confirm the allegations.

And one member of the Erasmus Commission confirmed that it had received evidence on General van den Bergh's illness.

This evidence, however, was not included in the published evidence of the Erasmus Commission, nor, according to The Star's inquiries, did it ever reach the parliamentary committee which sifted that evidence before making it public.

CSO: 4700/1889

IN-DEPTH STUDY OF GROUP AREAS ACT PUBLISHED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 4 Aug 82 p 9

[Article by Lin Menge]

[Text]

URBAN residential segregation did not happen naturally and spontaneously in South Africa. White authorities were enacting legal segregation in urban areas long before the word "apartheid" became current. Why then, did whites still feel the need for group areas legislation?

For one thing, many of the working class, poorer whites, by whose vote the Nationalists had come to power in 1948, still felt threatened by coloured penetration into their areas — while the richer, mainly English-speaking non-Nationalist whites had the money with which to distance themselves from coloured penetration.

The Nationalists obliged their supporters by passing the Group Areas Act, but it was not only Nationalists who benefited from what John Western, author of "Outcast Cape Town" (Human and Rousseau, R23,50) has described as "an instrument for institutionalising the disadvantage of those not in power".

Western, a social geographer who is now an assistant professor of geography at Temple University, Philadelphia, based his book on field work he conducted as a research scholar at the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town between 1974 and 1976. The result is, in the words of Prof Erika Theron, a "factual sermon" and the first in-depth study on the Group Areas Act and its implementation.

"Outcast Cape Town" is indeed a sermon, on the evil

consequences of fear and greed. Even wrapped as it is in the language of the cautious scientific researcher, it is not a pretty story.

Slum clearance and health hazard arguments are cited by officialdom as justification for moving people (but almost never white people) from one part of a city to another.

But the location chosen for resettlement (at the periphery of whites-only central cities) reveals an intention quite different from that of the Government's pronouncements, says Western. "The intention is the execution of social distancing and not a concern for health hazards."

Western distinguishes two motives, strategic and economic, as underpinning the group areas conception. On the strategic motive he quotes former Minister of Justice Mr Jimmy Kruger on the possibilities of urban guerrilla warfare. Mr Kruger said he did not think an organised campaign would get off the ground because one of the big advantages of South Africa was that the residential areas were segregated.

"It is in this light that we can understand the wholesale clearance of Cape Town's District Six," says Western. "Certainly, there were sections of deteriorating housing, but equally important was its status as an area with a 95% coloured population immediately adjacent to the white city centre."

The author finds significant an editorial in *Die Burg*

er on the spread of rioting from the black and coloured townships on the Cape Flats in September 1976 to Cape Town's city centre:

"This is the work of cunning people ... intended to involve the general public (*a euphemism for whites*, notes Western) in what had up till then been confined to black and brown residential areas, helping to create a crisis psychosis and thereby ensuring much more publicity."

Western comments: "Clearly, according to *Die Burger*, violence and riot in the non-white townships was not as intolerable as violence and riot in the white city."

The strategic motive also encompasses keeping whites united and the other races divided, and distinguishing white from "non-white" where the physical difference is not easily apparent. "One is one's address" — thus whatever a coloured person's appearance, if he lives in a segregated suburb, he can only be coloured.

In dealing with the economic motive, Western shows that the Group Areas Act has borne most heavily on the Indians, with one in four being resettled, yet the Indians are by far the smallest of the four racial groups in South Africa. Prior to the Group Areas Act, the main concern of whites was the segregation of blacks. This Act was aimed not at whites or at blacks, but at the people in the middle, the coloureds and Indians.

"For the 90% of all the coloureds who lived in the Cape Province in 1950, the Act was the first legal restraint placed on the property rights, their first experience of *de jure* disqualification."

Because of the Act, one in six coloureds is removed, but only one white in 666.

Why assault the Indians so heavily with the Act? Strategic motives are unlikely, except perhaps in Durban. The reason is economic.

"The poorer whites' fear and envy of the Indians was a powerful source of support for the Group Areas legislation, whereby wealth was obligatorily redistributed from the Indians to the whites." But this support, Western reminds us, did not come only from Afrikaners, but also from English-speaking Durban which had already been devising a strategy to redirect investment from Indian business to English-dominated commerce "even though the English sector was already the most economically privileged in South African society".

Another way in which Group Areas has worked to the economic advantage of whites and to the detriment of blacks, coloureds and Indians has been through the renovation of housing, but this Western sees as "property market opportunism on the part of white realtors", rather than a conscious aim of the Act.

Whites gained financially by buying and then renting or reselling the renovated homes of people ejected by the Act. In Cape Town small houses into which coloured families had crowded were now "remodelled bijou Chelsea cottages occupied by middle class whites at a much lower density".

Western gives some staggering examples of how house prices rose in Mowbray during the 1960s following Group Areas removals of coloureds and the "chelseafication" of their houses — houses which were by no means slums. He took the trouble to find out who the directors were of the com-

panies who made those profitable transactions.

"The directors were local (white) realtors, auctioneers and architects, living nearby in Rondebosch, upper Newlands, Kenilworth, Wynberg and Claremont.

"And one of the architects involved in these profitable speculations, who lived in a cottage in Newlands once occupied by coloureds, was then busying himself without self-effacement in liberal-reformist Progressive Federal party politics and with problems of low-cost housing, being concerned about the severe housing shortage for coloured people on the Cape Flats ... to which he had in a sense contributed."

There is much else in "Outcast Cape Town", to make the white reader wince (black readers, one suspects, will know it all too well).

What of the effect on the coloureds themselves? Besides the pain and insecurity, there is the destruction, as Western sees the removal of the coloureds from District Six, of "one of the symbols of whatever coloured identity may exist."

He asks whether the deprivation of security and identity is not leading coloureds, especially young coloureds, to forge new loyalties — with blacks. There was evidence of this in the 1976 riots.

Before 1948 Cape Town was the least segregated city in southern Africa. It has been transformed by the Group Areas Act. Humanistic geography, says Western, implies looking at the city through the texture of the lives of its inhabitants.

"Seen this way, the astonishing physical beauty of the Cape Peninsula is metamorphosed into a remarkably bleak experience of living for many Capetonians."

DEBATE ON PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL PROPOSALS REPORTED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 17 Aug 82 p 11

[Article by Chris Freimond]

[Text]

BLACKS are still anxious to negotiate with whites for a peaceful future — but a mutually acceptable basis for talks appears remote.

These were the clearest messages to emerge from a debate in Johannesburg on Sunday between four leading politicians.

The debate was organised by Club 44, a branch of the Jewish Board of Deputies, to examine the President's Council (PC) plans.

It was particularly significant because for the first time the chairman of Soweto's Committee of 10, Dr Nthato Motlana, entered a public discussion on the PC.

The other speakers were Mr Harry Schwarz, the PFP MP for Yeoville, and PC members, Mr Japie Basson, a former PFP MP, and Mr Les du Preez, a former executive member of the coloured Labour Party.

All four speakers clearly saw negotiation as the only way to avoid violence — but equally clearly their views differed radically on where negotiation should lead.

Questions from the audience also indicated a desire for strong lines of communication, but whites revealed their fears of black dominance and the uncertainty of "minority guarantees", and blacks showed irritation that their destiny in South Africa was being decided by people other than their own leaders.

Dr Motlana probably shocked many in the audience with his cynically bitter disregard for the white-dominated machinery of National Party reform and his demand for immediate democracy in a unitary state.

The PC's exclusion of blacks made it "a

fraud, a charade and a joke". It ignored 70% of the country's population and yet still hoped to solve South Africa's problems.

If whites believed they could secure their future by pretending blacks did not exist they were making "one hell of a mistake".

Mr Basson said the PC and its reform proposals had to be seen against the party political background of its creation.

Political change could only come about to the extent to which the ruling party was willing and able to allow it. The Prime Minister could only change South Africa when he was able to change the National Party.

Mr Schwarz said it was essential to give people a taste of the fruits of change to prevent them becoming radicalised and regarding violence as the only answer.

In this regard one had to ask why discriminatory legislation could not be removed immediately. A declaration of intent was necessary.

It was vital to negotiate change with the real leaders and not those appointed by the Government. If reform was to enjoy legitimacy it needed the broad support of all people.

Mr Du Preez — who once supported majority rule in a unitary South African State — said minority groups such as the coloureds feared swamping by blacks if discriminatory laws were repealed.

Violent revolution would not succeed in South Africa and the sooner black, coloured and Asian radicals realised this the sooner reform could begin which would ensure justice and equality for all, he said.

CSO: 4700/1889

HEUNIS DENIES GOVERNMENT SPY ACTION REPORT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Sep 82 p 3

[Articles by Jaap Theron and Murray McNally]

[Text] "I know nothing of any Government action against Professor Anthony de Crespigny," Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Referring to startling allegations in the weekend Press regarding Prof De Crespigny's alleged affiliations with the banned African National Congress (ANC) and the British intelligence service, MI 6, Mr Heunis said: "I do not know where the Press get their stories from."

Prof De Crespigny, who hit the headlines after his unexpected resignation from the President's council — he quit by telegram after arriving in London — told weekend newspapers that he had been questioned by National Intelligence Service (NIS) of-

ficials several times before his departure from South Africa.

He said members of the NIS visited him from time to time while he was a member of the President's council, but he had thought it was normal for the security service to keep a check on members of the council.

Initial rumours circulating after his sudden departure from South Africa were that the NIS was looking for him. Then followed speculation that he could be linked to the British MI6, and thereafter rumours that his name had been found on a list of ANC-members.

But Prof De Crespigny has denied ever having links with radical Leftist organisations or that we was even aware of the alleged list of ANC members.

Friends of prof De Crespigny yesterday denied that he could have been either linked to the ANC link or involved in espionage.

Mr Heunis made it clear there had been no action by the Government against Prof De Crespigny in his capacity as a member of the President's Council.

When prof de Crespigny resigned from the President's council he said in pressing personal and family reasons."

Close friends said he had a complex personality and a persecution paranoia.

It was suggested that he could have fled South Africa after having jumped to the wrong conclusions following visits by NIS officials.

## Professor 'Will Return to Face Allegations'

THE wife of Professor Anthony De Crespigny, the former member of the President's Council whose hurried departure from South Africa has mystified friends and colleagues, believes he may return to face the claim that he was working for a foreign intelligence agency or that he had radical Leftwing allegiances.

Prof De Crespigny left South Africa for Britain suddenly at the beginning of last month to visit his ailing mother.

On August 19 it was disclosed that the chairman of the President's Council and state Vice-President, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, had received Prof De Crespigny's resignation from the council.

Reacting to rumours surrounding Prof De Crespigny's resignation, Mr Schlebusch said last week that there had been no pressure on the former President's Councillor from any Government agency.

Mr Schlebusch said he had received a telex from Prof De Crespigny on August 11 in which he said he was obliged to resign from the council because of pressing personal and family reasons.

But Prof De Crespigny's wife, Rose Marie, said from her Constantia, Cape Town, home yesterday that her husband had left South Africa in a hurry to be at the bedside of

his elderly mother who was gravely ill.

"This was the personal family reason my husband was referring to in his letter of resignation from the President's Council," said Mrs De Crespigny.

"My mother-in-law has made a full recovery from her illness and I expect my husband to return to South Africa to dispel these absurd rumours."

But Prof De Crespigny, who was head of the Political Science Faculty at the university of Cape Town before joining the President's Council, told a Sunday newspaper that he expected his wife and three children to join him in London later.

The report also quoted the political scientist as saying that rumours about him could be part of a Right-wing plot to discredit the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, by trying to show that he (De Crespigny) had been unsuitable for membership in the President's Council.

Other South African newspapers have claimed that Prof De Crespigny might have been working in the Republic as an agent for British Intelligence.

Mr Lofty Adams, a member of the President's Council, said he had spoken to Prof De Crespigny the day before he left for overseas and the professor had given no indication that he was leaving the country.

"Anthony De Crespigny delivered the opening address of my organisation Cope (Congress of the People) in December 1980 and he impressed me as being an honest conservative," said Mr Adams.

Prof De Crespigny was a member of the Liberal Party from 1955 to 1960 when he became a member of its Natal Coastal Region Executive. But he has denied ever having been a member of the Congress of Democrats.

He has said he believed the organisation claimed him as a member possibly to swell their membership numbers and it was possible that they had passed on his name to an allied organisation such as the ANC.

He claimed that he had always been anti-communist on "very traditional liberal grounds".

He has also denied ever having had radical Left-wing allegiances and said he had no knowledge of an ANC document allegedly bearing his name.

Quoting intelligence sources a Sunday newspaper reported at the weekend that Prof De Crespigny had been questioned about the appearance on a purported list of ANC members of the name "De Crespigny" followed by the same initials and date of birth as those of the former President's Council member.

CSO: 4700/1929

OPENING OF TRANSVAAL NP CONGRESS REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Sep 82 pp 3, 6

[Article by Jaap Theron: "NP Congress To Keep Doors Open?"]

[Text] THERE is a strong possibility that the Transvaal National Party congress will discuss the Government's new policy guidelines during open session, Dr Jannie Pieterse, general secretary of the Transvaal NP, said yesterday.

The three day congress starts at 2.15 today when the Transvaal NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, will deliver the opening address in the agricultural show hall at the Pretoria showgrounds.

According to an earlier controversial decision it was decided that the Transvaal congress would discuss the Cabinet's new future policy system behind closed doors.

There had apparently been fears that Transvaal delegates, some of whom are known for their strongly critical attitudes, could turn the debate into a clash — something the Government would not like following the almost unanimous support for its new policy at the Free State and Natal congresses recently.

Dr Pieterse said yesterday the executive would meet this morning prior to the beginning of the congress to consider letting the congress debate the new policy with the Press present.

After Mr De Klerk has opened the congress, attention will be given to party matters.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, will address a public meeting in the Pretoria City Hall tonight.

It is understood that he is likely to refer to the row between the internal parties of South West Africa about a constitutional settlement.

Although there are still rumours that certain NP representatives want to defect to the Conservative Party because of the Government's new policy, they are not expected to cause a showdown at the Transvaal congress this week.

It will be Mr De Klerk's first appearance as Transvaal NP leader at the Transvaal NP congress, and he is expected to be re-elected unopposed.

The Transvaal head committee as well as the executive have already approved a proposal that every Transvaal Cabinet Minister will automatically be a member of the Transvaal NP executive.

This week's congress will be asked to confirm these decisions with the result that the composition of the executive could change considerably.

The new policy guidelines will be discussed tomorrow morning in the presence of the Prime Minister.

Other important resolutions to be discussed tomorrow include one from Rustenburg which suggests that sensitive decisions on Government level should only be made public after deliberations have been completed with all parties, and one from the Overvaal constituency, which suggests that the Government includes a declaration of rights — regarding the principle of own affairs of each population group — in its envisaged new constitution.

[Editorial]

THE Government's reform plan faces its major test at the Transvaal National Party congress, starting in Pretoria today.

There will be searching questions. There will be misgivings among some delegates. But we don't see any heated controversy developing, or any further major walkout of party members.

For, as the Natal and Free State congresses of the NP have shown, the party faithful may have qualms about reform but they will not abandon the NP because of those qualms.

Those who had the courage of their convictions have already quit the party, forming or joining the Conservative Party.

There is no sign that conservatives remaining in the party are planning a rebellion.

With possibly only minor dissent, the reform plan should be passed by the congress with the customary acclamation.

However, we do not think any of the party's leaders, least of all the Prime Minister, will believe this will be the end of the story.

Opposition to the reform plan is building up at the grassroots.

Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and a leading verligte, admitted at the weekend that the Government was bringing an unpopular message to its people and that there was resistance to change in the country.

"Nobody gladly accepts change because the familiar always brings security."

"Let's face it," he added candidly, "there is resistance to change in all of us."

Nevertheless, Mr Botha made it clear that the National Party would stand or fall by its proposals, even if they were unpopular.

The Government would have to do what was necessary for victory over South Africa's enemies, no matter how unpopular this was, or whether it cost the National Party votes, he said.

There are voices in Afrikanerdom which would have preferred the Government to rethink its proposals in order to make them more acceptable to the volk.

There are voices in Afrikanerdom which would have placed unity above reform as planned, claiming there is no purpose in putting forward proposals that split the volk, for

what good will it do if South Africa seeks safety from its external enemies but sections of the volk look upon each other as enemies within our borders?

But the Prime Minister, like Mr Pik Botha, has made it clear that the Government will not backtrack.

So the party will rally behind the Prime Minister, reform will go ahead no matter what the Right says, and the split in the ranks of Afrikanerdom will become irrevocable.

This is not something we regard with equanimity, since if the ruling tribe is divided, the country is that much more endangered.

There is this further aspect: The alternative to reform, in the view of the Conservative Party, is a return to the doctrinaire apartheid of the 1970s.

Can the Whites afford to dig in behind the barricades of Wit baasskap?

Can the country be saved by excluding the Coloureds and Asians, never mind the Blacks, from any say in decision-making?

Can recalcitrance be a better watchword than reform at a time when Rhodesia has collapsed, South West Africa is likely to end up in Black hands, and the enemy is at the gates?

Since this newspaper has always believed in change, it cannot see how the country can accept no change as a basis for safeguarding its future.

On the other hand, if leaders distance themselves from their followers, can unpopular reform be achieved except at dire cost to the unity of the volk and the nation?

The difference is thus not just between those who are for and those against change, but over what degree of change should be introduced.

This argument will continue in the months to come, no matter how much support reform gets at party congresses.

For in the end, the conundrum for South Africa is this: Is the Government providing too much or too little reform — and can a country like ours survive without any reform at all?

The future of South Africa will be determined by the answer.

'MISLED' PUBLIC'S VIEW OF CHANGE EXAMINED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Sep 82 pp 16-18

[Article by Allister Sparks: "The Shape of P. W. Botha's Brave New Tomorrow"]

[Text]

**L**AST May South Africa House ran a full-page advertisement in the Financial Times under the heading, "The Changing Face of South Africa", with a number of photographs of blacks and whites fraternising in various ways.

But the sharp-eyed reader, looking closely at those pictures, would have noticed something odd. The main one was not of interracial fraternising in South Africa at all but of Harry Oppenheimer and Julian Ogilvie Thompson with Mrs Goatisive Chiepe, Botswana's Minister of Mineral Resources, signing De Beer's agreement for the opening of the Jwaneng diamond mine.

It was a symbolic gaffe which pinpoints the trouble with all these claims being made about change in South Africa. They make a nice advertisement for overseas consumption, but on closer examination there is something phoney about them.

The use of doublespeak and the elliptical phrase has been raised to an art form by our rulers. "Apartheid as we have known it is dead," said Piet Koornhof in the United States two years ago. Not surprisingly his American audience and many others thought he meant apartheid itself was dead, which is what he wanted them to think. But it is not what he meant.

Apartheid is not dead, oh dear no. It is merely being reformulated, altered to try to fix some of the more glaring weaknesses in the old model. What Piet Promises was counting on was that his audience, and the American reporters present, would skim over those crucial little words in the middle "... as we have known

it..."

The worst of it is that this deception is being more readily taken in by the local audience than the overseas one.

The desire for change within the country is so intense, and has been frustrated for so long, that the wish has become father of the thought. The use of the word 'change' as a kind of slogan has given it a reality in the minds of many. They want so badly to believe in it that they are not inclined to examine the advertisement too closely.

They rationalise. It may not be perfect but one must be realistic, pragmatic. Don't be negative, be prepared to compromise. It can't be done overnight. At least PW is trying. Hasn't he got rid of Treurnicht? Isn't he admitting coloureds to Parliament? At least things are moving in the right direction.

But are they? Has anybody checked on the direction?

**B**usinessmen, relieved at last to have something positive to tell their counterparts overseas, went ecstatically first to the Carlton then to the Good Hope Centre with few penetrating questions in their notebooks.

As Hermann Giliomee has said, they were so enchanted at being invited into the club as insiders to help with the nation-saving exercise that they didn't stop to ask what it was all about.

And the Press, sadly, has also lost some of its vigilance.

There is a pervading sense of insecurity in important sectors of the English-language Press these days, and with the

biggest of the papers trumpeting away week after week about the wonders of PW and his pending breakthrough to a new tomorrow it is not easy for others to swim against the tide of blind optimism.

Thus the critical question goes unanswered: Change to what?

Thank God for the Black Sash. With great courage and an indefatigable tenacity Sheena Duncan and her little band of specialists from the advice offices have become a lone voice of analytical fact through all this tinsel-storm of pretence and wishful thinking.

Sitting there in their advice offices, they know what the realities are. Illusions cannot survive in such places. And what these desperate women keep trying to get across through all the waffle about new tomorrows is that, for the 21-million Africans of this country, things are not changing for the better but for the worse.

Sheena Duncan has talked of the coming of a "Genocide Bill". An overstatement, obviously, but its use is a measure of her exasperation and in the context of the rural catastrophe that is being engendered by the mad intensification of the homelands policy it is not altogether unjustified.

**T**he Black Sash has just published a study of the resettlement programme showing that 3-million people have been relocated over the past 20 years. It is possibly the biggest programme of forced human resettlement in history. And it is being intensified. Another 1-million are scheduled for removal in terms of homeland consolidation plans already decided upon, and the Van der Walt Commission will soon be announcing its final consolidation proposals which will lead to the relocation of countless more.

Conditions in these resettlement camps are a disgrace to any country calling itself Western, Christian or civilised. Yet the programme of packing more and more desperate people into them goes on remorselessly.

The Cape squatters are bulldozed out and sent back to the Ciskei and Transkei again and again, even though there is no hope of a livelihood for them there. Now a new law is to make the removal of squatters unchallengeable in court.

The influx control regulations are being made much stricter. The Riekert Report, hailed as reformist, made recommendations which mean that the number of blacks employed in "white" South Africa should be kept to the minimum

needed by the "white" economy, and this is now being implemented.

The loopholes that used to enable thousands of blacks to enter the cities illegally to find jobs are being systematically closed.

Many Africans were prepared to pay the penalty of a R100 fine or a spell in jail for the sake of a few months' work. This is being stopped by shifting the responsibility on to the employer who is not prepared to pay the penalty, so he doesn't offer the job. The fine went up to R500 in 1979 and will soon go up again to R5 000.

And just to make trebly sure, any "legal" black who accommodates an "illegal" will be liable to a fine of R500

**T**housands of Africans, many of whom have been in this country for decades, are being deported to Zimbabwe and Mozambique even when their employers want them to stay.

The process of denationalising black South Africans is being intensified. The Government is bent on handing over KaNgwane and Ingwavuma to Swaziland, in the most crass act of indifference to people's wishes that this country has seen, just so that another 1-million black people can cease to be South African citizens.

Yet P.W. Botha is prepared to split his party in order to admit Coloureds and Indians to Parliament.

Where is the logic behind such an apparently contradictory pattern of action? What exactly is the shape of this tomorrow towards which the Nationalists are trying to lead South Africa?

Change to what?

On the evidence, the conclusion has to be that it is not an attempt to end white domination at all, but to reinforce it.

The white citadel is to be strengthened by trying to co-opt the Coloureds and Indians as allies, while shutting out the African masses more rigorously than ever.

This involves the sacrifice of giving political rights to the Coloureds and Indians, which has caused the National Party to split. But, as Mr Botha so patiently tried to explain to the block-headed *verkramptes*, it is "healthy" power-sharing, which means it is of a kind that can never threaten white, and specifically Afrikaner, domination of the political system.

The Coloureds and Indians are minor-

ity groups. They are to be in separate Parliamentary chambers, with a ratio that entrenches a white majority. Whites, meaning the National Party, will continue to dominate the Presidency and the Cabinet which is where the real power will lie. So the power structure will remain unaltered.

Moreover the Coloureds and Indians will continue living in their own Group Areas and going to their own separate schools and universities. So the basic elements of the social structure will remain unaltered too.

But by giving the Coloureds and Indians political rights the moral basis will have been established for conscripting them into the armed forces. Thus the citadel of the "insiders" will be strengthened.

**T**he Africans, meanwhile, are systematically being turned into outsiders. It is a numbers game. By deporting foreigners and packing as many Africans as possible into the homelands, an attempt is being made to reduce the numbers actually living and working in "white" South Africa to the absolute minimum necessary to keep the "white" economy going.

Then, through homeland independence and the ceding of homeland territory (with their appendant tribes) to neighbouring African states, even these are to be turned into statutory foreigners liable to deportation and therefore vulnerable and insecure. The sort of people who will not dare to make trouble.

The ultimate goal, as Dr Connie Mulder spelled out ten years ago, is that there should be no black South Africans.

The whites will have been turned magically into a *de jure* majority, sharing South African citizenship with the Coloured and Indian minority groups whom they can easily dominate politically.

For a time most of those Africans who have permanent rights under Section 10 of the old Urban Areas Act will retain these rights, even though they will have lost their citizenship. But eventually these rights too will wither away. Any rural African born after his homeland has been declared independent cannot qualify for them, so in time there will be a smaller percentage with urban rights — and even these will be aliens in South Africa subject to deportation if they step out of line.

The great majority will then be com-

pletely tied to the poverty-stricken homelands, able to work in "white" South Africa only under the migrant labour system which will be regulated by the new, more rigorous influx control system.

**U**nder this system each person must register with a labour bureau in his homeland, then wait until a requisition order for labour comes to that bureau.

His qualifications, experience and work record will be recorded in a computer bank, together with comments about his reliability and attitude.

If his name emerges on the computer call-up when the requisition data is inserted, and if his attitude record looks acceptable, he may get the job and be able to go away to "white" South Africa as a migrant worker on a year's contract.

At the end of the year his employer must dismiss him and return him to the homeland. There is a call-in system enabling an employer to recall the same worker for the job if he wants him, but there is no long-term job security for the worker himself.

The Government claims the regions it has demarcated for economic decentralisation will enable many more homeland-dwellers to commute to work in nearby industrial complexes by fast train, and will also create more jobs within the homelands themselves.

But, with the exception of a few real growth points, it is hard to see why this should be dramatically more successful than the old border industries programme which failed so lamentably to meet the employment needs of the homelands.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the homelands will be no more than poverty-stricken labour reservoirs where stagnant labour can be stored at a sanitary distance from "white" South Africa and out of its discomforting sight, with computerised influx control taps to regulate its flow to wherever "white" South Africa happens to need some of it.

Meanwhile constitutionally these homelands will be the means of depriving the whole African population of any future claim to political rights in South Africa.

It may sound crazy and unworkable, just as Verwoerd's old apartheid dream was crazy and unworkable, but that is what all this talk of "change" is really about.

That is P.W.'s Brave New Tomorrow.

NONPOLITICAL ROLE OF CHIEFS DEFENDED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Sep 82 p 18

[Article by Sylvester P Mutsvairi: "The Chiefs Are Not Politicians"]

[Text] **T**HE fallacy of Chiefs who masquerade as politicians is a very misguided conception that will delay the emergence of the black man's aspirations.

Chiefs are traditional politicians and law givers from the time they are born till they die. Politicians on the other hand are elected by the people who have the power to change them next time at the polls. A chief is a hereditary leader who cannot be changed.

Not all the chiefs are sophisticated and educated politicians because this is not a criterion to rule their tribes. They can rule their poor tribes and exact astronomical taxes from them to maintain their status quo, but ordinary politicians must show real improvement in the lot of their people or they get axed out. A chief rules over the tribe that understands his language but an ordinary politician must be able to use a foreign medium of expression.

A chief cannot lead his tribe and other tribes into a nation, otherwise his tribe may wish to impose their language and customs on other tribes as their chief becomes stronger and a war would ensue.

A chief is a reservoir of tribal custom

and tradition which the educated black should emulate also, but he cannot expect urban blacks to owe allegiance to him.

The unfortunate mistake was brought about by the colonisers who decided to pay a chief a salary and who alienated him from his tribesmen. A chief is now a paid servant of the state and he therefore cannot refuse orders from his masters who build for him beautiful houses and assembly chambers and offer him beautiful cars in exchange for acceptance of pseudo independence.

If anyone opposes this set up he gets banned or gets jailed under various Acts copied from the master, so homeland rule is a sure policy of divide and rule.

The introduction of chiefs into politics is an absurdity which obscures their true functions to their tribesmen and can therefore never unite the aspirations of the South African black man as a whole. Luckily chiefs have seen it fit to confine themselves to their homeland rule which seems to me not a serious matter worth any attention. They should prepare their men for entry into proper nationhood which is not far off. ●

CSO: 4700/1891

PROSPECTS FOR POLITICAL COMPROMISE EXPLORED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Sep 82 pp 13-15

[Article by Dr Deon Geldenhuys: "Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea"]

[Text]

**I**N a deeply polarised society such as ours, the middle ground can be a highly uncomfortable place, for the middle ground is no neutral ground. Those occupying the middleground are not merely caught accidentally in the cross-fire between the opposing poles, but they are actually drawn into the battle itself. They are the target of the two extremes, attracting deliberate fire from both. The position of the middle grounders, as they may be called, is made no easier by the internationalisation of South Africa's domestic politics. But here their problem is quite different: foreign opinion often tends to focus on the radicals and to disregard those on the middle ground. In the simple white-black conflictual framework foreign observers commonly apply to South Africa, there is little if any place for a middle ground.

All of this is, of course, very vague. Who stand on the middle ground? And what are they supposed to stand for?

In essence, the middle grounders are the compromisers. They stand between those who, on the one hand, are committed to maintaining white minority rule and, on the other, are determined to settle for nothing less than straightforward black majority rule in a unitary state. Neither of the two is a neat, monolithic grouping. The former camp includes those clamouring for the restoration of the *status quo ante* (the apostles of rigid Verwoerdian apartheid), and others prepared to meliorate apartheid but without endangering the whites' ultimate monopoly on political power (the parameters of many whites' *verligtheid*). On the opposite side, opinion ranges from those

seeking the revolutionary, violent overthrow of the present political system by the so-called liberation movements, to others in favour of reaching the non-negotiable goal of black majority rule by largely peaceful means.

Needless to say, the right extreme, to use a useful term, is exclusively white, whereas the left extreme is an almost exclusively black one, which includes Coloureds and Indians alongside Black Africans, together with an insignificant sprinkling of white radicals. There are, of course, political movements active in both camps.

To simply say that the middle ground is that section of South African society which now remains, is rather meaningless. The first question which invariably arises in our racially polarised society, concerns the racial complexion of the middle grounders. Some sceptics would ask whether it is conceivable that there is a significant number of blacks, particularly Black Africans, willing to compromise on majority rule. Others would likewise ask whether there really are whites willing to compromise on their control of political power.

**I**t can safely be accepted that for the overwhelming majority of Black Africans and a large number (if not the majority) of Coloureds and Indians, the first choice would be a system of black majority rule in a unitary state without any specific constitutional safeguards for (racial) group interests. Now the middle ground blacks are those who realise that the achievement of this ideal is made un-

feasible by the certainty of resolute white resistance. Rather than risk a bloody racial conflagration, they are prepared to settle for something less. For blacks to openly declare themselves compromisers is not easy in the prevailing climate of polarisation. The term 'black moderate' has, through the government's use thereof, become a discredited one in black eyes, bearing a typical Quisling-connotation. Notwithstanding these constraints, it is a fair bet that a sizeable number of black opinion leaders have a keen sense of *realpolitik* and appreciate the need for exploring middle ground political options. The appointment of Buthelezi Commission is one such example.

The white part of the middle ground consists of those who acknowledge that a white monopolisation of political power is both indefensible and, in the long run, undefendable, and who therefore realise the imperative need for a new political system providing for all racial groups to share political power. Power sharing is certainly not the same as simple black majority rule in a unitary state. Exchanging apartheid for the latter would not be a case of political accommodation, but of capitulation.

The white middle ground is not the exclusive prerogative of any single political party. It can, however, be said that parties to the right of the National Party do not form part of the middle ground. The National Party (even after the Big Break) cannot readily be counted in the middle ground either, but certain of its younger MPs perhaps can.

**A**s far as the content of middle ground politics is concerned, one has to be careful, because the give-and-take of bargaining and compromise demands flexibility. But while the middle grounders steer clear of the zero-sum rigidity inherent in the white extreme's blueprint politics and the black extreme's revolutionary politics, they are certainly not without political commitments. They have to stand for something, not merely against or between two extremes. Their baseline is likely to include the following points: the rejection of racial discrimination; the rejection of political designs unilaterally formulated and imposed by one racial group, and the acceptance of the need for joint consultation between all racial groups in devising a new political dispensation; the

recognition of the plural nature of South African society and the need for safeguarding group interests in a new constitution; and emphasis on effecting political reform peacefully. These aspects have deliberately been stated in rather vague terms and admittedly represent the lowest common denominator. But then it is in the very nature of middle ground compromise politics that it cannot emulate the extremists' simple 'solutions' with their slogan-like clarity and popular appeal.

Since the various points just mentioned conflict with the non-negotiable political goals of the extremists, they predictably react unfavourably. For the leftist camp, the middle grounders are reactionaries, trying to obstruct the liberation struggle. For rightist radicals, the middle grounders are dangerous liberals, prepared to sell out the whites. Until recently Afrikaners in the middle group were commonly awarded the added label of 'volksverraaiers'. The split in the National Party will complicate matters, since the parties to its right will portray Mr P.W. Botha's Nationalists as having betrayed true, undiluted Afrikaner-Nationalist ideology.

Being thus characterised is by no means the worse fate to befall the middle grounders. What is a serious problem, is that the middle ground itself is in danger of being dangerously eroded if polarisation between white and black increases. There is no shortage of factors which would harden attitudes on both sides of the racial divide. To name only one on each side: the lack of meaningful political reform away from apartheid is bound to strengthen the cause of blacks propagating a violent transformation to majority rule; a white backlash against liberalisation can, in turn, easily be encouraged by growing violence perpetrated by the so-called liberation movements.

**I**nternational factors also come into play here. Whites' resistance to reform may be further strengthened by external pressure if a zero-sum alternative is demanded of them — and black majority rule is certainly seen as such. (It is only necessary to recall the role of American pressure in the 1977 general election.)

The nature of external demands can also directly affect the middle grounders. It is not uncommon for external opinion to focus so heavily on the opposing racial poles that the middle ground is either

overlooked or rated as politically irrelevant. Treating the middle grounders in this way fits in well with the Inevitable Racial War approach to South Africa: with an irresistible (black) force hurtling towards an immovable (white) object, there is no room for compromises. Middle grounders are then regarded as obstructionists, in effect standing in the way of a self-fulfilling prophesy. Compromise options propounded by middle grounders are dismissed as games or tricks. Of course, many outside observers do not relish a Final Showdown in South Africa, but they are still highly sceptical about the existence of a meaningful middle ground in such a polarised community and about the chances of success of compromise politics.

There is, however, also an encouraging side for the middle grounders, in that there are foreign scholars who seriously explore middle ground options for South Africa. Foremost among them are a handful of astute West German academics, some of whom have the added advantage of entree to members of the South African ruling elite (which in no way makes them apologists for apartheid). Sadly, their endeavours fail to get the wider recognition they deserve in South Africa, one reason being the heavy Anglo-Saxon orientation of our academic community.

Coming to the non-compromisers in the leftist camp, they too are influenced by external opinion. The bulk of world opinion is already ranged on the side of the 'liberation movements' in their armed struggle, and this fact understandably encourages the pursuit of a zero-sum outcome. But even where the radicals do not enjoy such open support, they are still strengthened by the wideranging opinion, also in governing circles in Western States,

that history is on the side of the black non-compromisers: in time, the argument goes, South Africa will inevitably go the way of Rhodesia, and there will be no middle ground between white minority rule and black majority rule a la African style.

Clearly, there is no lack of formidable forces actually or potentially working against the middle grounders. As if domestic factors do not already make their position difficult enough, international opinion further complicates it. The middle grounders' fate is, in fact, for a large part determined by others.

Looking ahead, it cannot be overlooked that the middle grounders, if shunned by international opinion and paralysed by mounting domestic polarisation, would be faced with a profound dilemma, finding themselves between the devil and the deep blue sea, so to speak. They too may then be forced to choose sides between the two opposing poles, or may simply opt out altogether by leaving South Africa. The white middle grounders who prefer to remain, are likely to choose the 'devil' they know, and rally round under the banner of white South Africa, rather than deliver themselves to the 'deep blue sea' of unacceptable foreign demands coupled with radical black demands. Former black middle grounders are likewise bound to choose the 'devil' they know.

With racial polarisation then as complete as can be, the ideal setting will have been provided for the Final Showdown so long clamoured for by the radicals and prophesied by the sceptics.

The point has not been reached, thus leaving the middle grounders with room for manoeuvre. They face heavy odds and time is a scarce commodity – but then the stakes are so high... ■

CSO: 4700/1891

REFLECTIONS ON EDUCATION, BLACK PRIDE OFFERED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Sep 82 pp 12-13

[Article by Professor Es'kia Mphahlele: "Education: A Handicap We Share With Whites"]

[Text]

**A**S an oppressed people, it has been our fate that we cannot fruitfully guide the choice of careers and educate in the classroom for our own purposes. Someone else designs our education for his own purpose.

There is very little, for instance, in our curricula in school and university that is intended to reinforce our confidence in ourselves, sharpen our awareness of self in the African context, to shape a collective consciousness that is constructive, to stimulate us to create.

On the contrary, because we are being educated for other people's purposes in the classical colonial sense — after all we are a colonized people — because we are considered primarily to be a labour reservoir, we are being trained to fit into jobs.

If such jobs are not ready for us we shall have been trained also to look for them, to present ourselves in suits and ties and polished shoes for the interview. We are trained to work for a white man or under white supervision, and not to create jobs of our own according to the genuinely-felt demands of our communities.

In addition to this deficiency, ours is an authoritarian and not a humanistic education, a handicap which, alas, we share with whites, although few of them will have perceived it or admit it — blinded, deafened, insensitized as they are by privilege and power, by tribal loyalties.

A curriculum that we have not ourselves fashioned in accordance with our sense of communal imperatives except at the superficial level of a "job description", and on top of that an authoritarian education — that is what we have.

The result? Regulations and proclamations come out of the bureaucratic machine like a jet stream from a fire-brigade hose; every official is armed with a fire extinguisher strapped onto his back ready for troubles; somebody from the top breathes down the neck of the school inspector, he in turn breathes down the neck of the headmaster, who breathes down the neck of the teacher, who in turn bullies his students and pupils.

Because the student was born too late in this whole hierarchy, he has no one to bully, so he revolts. He takes it out on buildings and vehicles and on himself.

But even within the existing structures all is not hopeless. Schools, colleges and universities still have, if they have the will, a fighting chance to inject enrichment that will supplement what we are programmed for in the classroom and compensate for what is lacking.

This requires an administration committed to truth, intellectual integrity and humanistic education that — in contrast to authoritarian education — intrinsically promotes freedom of inquiry, of expression, of association and of the creative spirit. I am talking here about an all-inclusive humanism that engages not mere cold intellect but also the heart, and therefore has no room for master-race attitudes or racist and colonizing drives.

The basis of it all amounts to self-education, and this offers a clear pointer to non-formal education — education through community services, through the day-to-day exchange of ideas, thoughts, words, compassion, spiritual vitality, the will to survive, to be. The doctor, lawyer, the teacher, (including the minister) the nurse, the trade unionist, to some

extent the social worker and the health inspector, deliver services directly to the community. They are in the best position to learn from the community and to educate it.

Whenever freedom is harassed, protest develops negatively, abrasively. I need not remind you about the way in which the concepts of black community programmes and black consciousness developed into aggressive, resistance-inspired programmes. This was because they were not allowed free expression at the very beginning, during which process they would have become a soul-searching instrument aimed at constructive engagement of the rootless disinherited personality in the rediscovery of self – the African self.

As it is, black consciousness became a mere political slogan that did not have the opportunity to ask questions and seek answers to them. It continues at that elementary *ad hoc* level.

If I were to project the possible development of black consciousness, I could see it sink the shaft of its sensibility into the deep-deep levels of culture where it can commune with the God of Afrika and the ancestors; where it can

begin to know itself, rediscover the collective consciousness.

From these levels it can inform our education, so that we may also get over the shame of being who we are, a shame we feel simply because by rediscovering our cultural strengths we shall appear to be supporting Bantustans, and abdicating our right to live in the urban areas.

We also feel ashamed because we make the error of thinking that African culture means tribal customs. We even adopt meaningless phrases like "tribal music and dance" "tribal beads" and so on, instead of simply "African music and dance" or "traditional African" this or that.

If we study African cultures we shall discover that they share a spiritual universe, a cosmology that transcends terms like "tribe" to the extent that the term "African culture" becomes meaningful. And we are talking here of the spiritual levels of culture.

Again, if we can get over the shame, we shall be able to define our own terms for ourselves. Black consciousness should not be content to travel on the easy wings of slogans and shallow sense of belonging.

It should not be afraid to go through the pain of cultural self-exploration and self-recognition, because of the mental effort involved or because of the likelihood of our beloved myths being shattered by the shaft of light that will be let in.

CSO: 4700/1891

## LIVING-CONDITIONS IN MIGRANT HOSTELS DESCRIBED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Sep 82 pp 24-29

[Article by Benson Ntlemo with WRAB explanation: "The Nomads of Our Times"]

[Text]

**P**ERHAPS the words of my eldest brother, who until lately has been a hostel dweller, will give some light about hostel life: "We are the nomads of our times. For in a period of twelve years the chances are that one has seen one's people for a year or less, not to say slept on your own cosy bed for the self same period." People living in hostels are contract workers who are allowed a vacation of one month each year which when added up makes one year out of twelve.

I spoke to the inmates of the Prospect Compound that caters for the railway workers. Most everybody there could not single out one factor which interested or disinterested him. Mr Calvin Shingawani, a driver, apparently particularised the feelings of his fellow inmates when he said, "Life is not good nor bad here, but monotonous." Asked if there was truth in that they are shown films every Wednesday and Saturday he said sarcastically, "There is nothing".

There are different kinds of hostel buildings - flats or small houses. Nancefield comprises separate three roomed houses erected in series. Each man has got his bed in one of the two bed rooms. There are six to eight or even up to 12 in each room. People share the midroom as a kitchen and diningroom.

In one room one can find a preacher, a drunkard and a faction fighter. When one prays the other drinks "mbamba" (skokiaan) and the other one fixes his weapon for slaughter.

In Nancefield Madala a man has only a bed in his sleeping room. His space is as large as the size of his bed. If he has things like clothes, he has to put them under the bed. This also applies to Jeppe Hostel. The other hostels have lockers

and one small bench for each bed. Some have to bring their own chairs for in case there are visitors.

**I**n George Goch the people living on one floor cook in one kitchen which is next to a large dining hall.

Stoves using coals are available and fire is made by WRAB employees in the early hours of the morning. There is another hall on the pathway to the kichen where the crockery is kept in lockers. Each man has to take his pot, salt and other things pertaining to cooking to the kitchen and wait for his turn to cook. In most hostels people keep their food with their clothes in their lockers and they must make sure that they buy meat that can be finished in one day.

There are shower rooms in all hostels. As often as not the water in the showers is warm to hot. At Dube hostel it is cold. Basins supposed for washing crockery are used by some for washing themselves. This gives them dual purposes.

Electric lights are there in all hostels except where they have been broken, then the men use candles. There are different rules to different rooms but in most cases if one man wants to sleep the others have to put off the light and if they want to keep on speaking they have to do so in the kitchen. This is a cause of trouble because when someone is drunk he usually disregards the rules and makes noise which may cause a quarrel with those who want to sleep soundly.

**W**hat characterises hostel life is that it borders on the abnormal. Old men are relegated to mere bachelors because their wives are back in their tribal lands and they have to cook for themselves, wash and iron for themselves. Usually a man has to sit on his bed because more often than not the table is occupied by people drinking "mbamba" or beers.

Mbamba and beers are sold by reason that some men, because they cannot be registered, start making clandestine businesses like running shebeens in order to make money. When they are financially well off they bribe the hostel police sergeant so that it becomes a "legal" business known only to the hostel's policemen. When the hostel police hears word that the S.A.P. are coming he warns them to hide the illegal stuff.

Women may not sleep or even enter into the hostel rooms except in hostels like Dube or Nancefield where the law is just a saying. Women are often the cause of carnage. Those who frequent hostels are so money-minded that when one of them enters a room she does not feel bound to know who she visits, she always goes to the highest bidder. This makes the one who first won her offended. Women who frequent hostels are mainly ingogos which is the word for those who can be lured for 25 cents. Many people feel that even if they were allowed to live with their wives in hostels they would not do so because the places themselves are demoralising.

While shebeens in the hostels are run illegally, also some other businesses there are illegal. One may find watches, cassette radios, and different types of clothes being sold clandestinely. There are other businesses outside the gates of the hostels where one may buy different healing mutis, even for venereal diseases. Also sold are mutis to trap the one who has an affair with another's wife.

At Nancefield I spoke to a number of people at a hostel shebeen discussing "tinxaka ta Makhombo" (dangerous tribesmen e.g. kierie-toting Zulus or Southern Sothos) whose reign of terror, as they say, sometimes arrests the people on their way to the station. They all agree on one thing; "something should be done or we die". But they have neither faith nor respect for the police be they SAP or WRAB. For the SAP they have fear blended with hatred, for WRAB they have disdain.

It is believed that money rules the

hostels. Stories of corruption are numerous. Like off-duty SAP who come in the number of three or four to rob money from the so-called "illegals", and the on-duty WRABs who come for bribes and act always as if the so-called "illegals" are mini-Oppenheimmers. No emphasis is laid on crime, although the police are meant to be there to stop crime. It is so dangerous that there are times when nobody goes out either to the toilet or the showers because both of these places represent a jungle where one's life can be callously snatched.

Jeppe hostel is the worst in town. Some men are so demoralised that they seem to have no ambition in life – even the ambition of life itself. "Macks" as they are called are hostel-dwellers who have been in town areas for a long time. Some, due to over-drinking have become shadows of their former selves; some have been dehumanised and diseased by devoting their time to the "ingogos". But all agree that they are not a threat to anyone.

The main causes of friction in hostels apart from Zulu faction fightings, emanate from false consciousnesses. People in KwaZulu are taught they are the chosen people, so are people in Gazankulu and other homelands. These false consciousnesses are preached as "self-determinations". This inhibits co-existence because a Zulu, for example, who was told he is special in his tribal Bantustan cannot swallow his pride when living amongst Pedis and others all of whom have been indoctrinated like him. Thus tribal pride prevents friendship amongst people living in the same hostel.

The hostel people are often not happy. "We have spent two days without water and have to eke out water from the toilet," said one. "Is it not unhygienic according to Arrie Paulus or whoever is ruling us? Are we happy that when our relatives visit us here they are arrested? Some stoves have not been working 5 days and you have to wait for three hours for your chance to cook. There is nothing good here... no recreational facilities, no place to study... no compassion."

And yet hostel dwellers believe that hostel life is more convenient for them economically than living in a Mr Zondi's house in Soweto. Most of them had lived with relatives only to find that only in the hostels can they spend as little as they can and in the process be able to save something for the people they left behind in the tribal lands.

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 27

**BELOW, RIGHT:** Concrete bunks at the CMR mine hostel. WRAB is using this hostel "temporarily" and with great reluctance — forced into it, say WRAB people apologetically, by the shortage of accommodation. There are 48 bunks to a room. WRAB allows only 24 to be let out, in an attempt to mitigate the cramping. However, the other 24 are generally filled by "illegals" who pay the legal residents not to complain.

#### WRAB Would Like to Help

The initial attitude of the West Rand Administration Board to Ntlemo's article was that it should not make allegations without substantiating them. Thus, Wrab argued that references to bribery, to "eking out water from the toilet", and to ingogos, etc., should not be published unless accompanied by specific names, dates and details. After discussion, Wrab and Frontline agreed that Ntlemo's article was a legitimate overview of hostel life, and that Ntlemo was not presenting himself as an investigative reporter seeking an exposé, but as a hotel dweller describing what he saw about him. It was agreed to publish his story in full, accompanied by the following reply from Wrab:...

**T**HIS is not WRAB's "side of the story", but rather an urgent appeal for understanding and assistance, where possible.

The Board is not averse to criticism of conditions in hostels. In fact, we are trying to do whatever is possible to eradicate problems.

Unfortunately, not only Black hostels but accommodation for single people in general is not a bed of roses, and least so in Black residential areas where most hostels are very old. We agree — it is not nice, it cannot be nice and the writer of the article (a hostel resident himself) has our sympathy.

A hostel is a place where the good, the bad and the ugly mix. Hostel dwellers should however try to move to quarters where they feel at home. Unfortunately stories of corruption hardly ever turn into complaints, therefore the Board cannot eliminate people who are corrupt. We would like to appeal to hostel dwellers to come forward. The complaints should, however, not be generalized — there are

honest, hardworking men too! WRAB will treat every case as confidential and the person complaining need not fear any retribution. We would like to help!

It is a traumatic experience for a husband to be separated from his wife and children, but we cannot allow an additional 72 000 families into this area — our already critical housing shortage would be distorted beyond recognition. Men who would like to see ingogos, shebeens and illegal businesses removed should complain to the superintendent of the hostel or to Mr J. de Jager, Dept. of Community Services (tel. 21-4911 x218).

Complaints like no water or a broken stove should be reported to the hostel superintendent immediately and if no satisfactory response is received within 12 hours, the resident should also contact Mr de Jager at WRAB. We will however give immediate attention to the complaints mentioned in the report.

At the moment the Board is involving private enterprise to provide better single accommodation. Migrant workers are

usually here for a short while to fulfill specific tasks for the community and like all other housing, single accommodation cannot be the sole responsibility of the Government. Already the private sector is involved in the building of modern new men's residences like George Goch to the amount of roughly R8-million.

In addition hereto some employers are in the process of upgrading and improving existing hostels. We would like to appeal to private enterprise through this article, to help us improve conditions in all the hostels.

If residents pay a higher rent, we might be able to provide better facilities for them, but at the moment it is cheap and the money received from residents leaves no room for improvements.

If the West Rand Administration Board, the private sector and the hostel dwellers are willing to tackle this problem together a more satisfactory solution will be found. ●

CSO: 4700/1891

CIRCUMSTANCES, IMPLICATIONS OF SHEBEENS CONFERENCE DISCUSSED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Sep 82 p 46

[Article by Jeremy Gordin: "The Lilies of the Field Were Put to Shame"]

[Text]

**S**OMETHING had to be wrong. What was that profusion of R400 suits, expensive dresses, fur stoles and gleaming jewellery, which ought to have been

were: approximately 400 shebeen Kings and Queens — big affluent men and busty, equally affluent mamas, from Billy Chakane and Joe Kgasi to Sophie Sojane and Nana Smuts — trooping into the Carlton Hotel's premier conference room for the First Annual National Tavern Association Conference, sleekly dubbed FANTAC.

They were there to write a new chapter in the weird and wonderful story of the SA liquor market, especially as it pertains to Blacks. In 1962 Blacks were allowed to purchase "white man's liquor" and in 1980 government announced its intention to let Blacks apply for licences to sell it too.

Now, in 1982, the National Tavern Association (NTA), organised by some shebeeners in 1980 to present a united front on legislation, was having its first conference.

And never mind about Solomon and the lilies of the field; even the captains of industry who met PW Botha at the Carlton in all their glory were not arrayed like those shebeeners.

But this point was only a minor irony, a mere foot soldier, compared to the battalion of ironies that FANTAC both symbolised and brought to the surface during the course of the day.

For one thing, it was the first time in

at an opening night in Hollywood, doing on a frosty Wednesday morning in the middle of Johannesburg, almost all of them topped by pure black faces? Yet there they

25 years that the biggest of the big-shots from the whole liquor industry — producers, wholesalers and retailers — had found a reason to come together in one room.

And what had brought them together? A bunch of "hoodlums, crooks and spivs," as shebeeners' consultant Colin Hall fondly referred to his clients.

But the plumb on the pudding was the Keynote Speaker, whose presence represented the greatest irony of all.

After all — let's not beat about the bush — Dr T.A. (Tjaart) du Plessis, Director-General of the Department of Commerce, Industries and Tourism was addressing a gathering of criminals.

And seated on the podium with him were three major criminals: the president, chairman and secretary of the NTA, Peggy Bel-Aire, Lucky Michaels and Ray Mollison. Eric Mafuna was also up there, not in his role as representative of his brand of brigandry (advertising) but as MC.

Du Plessis did not say anything particularly riveting. But there, in among the bureaucratic stuff, was the sentence: "It is, however, very important that you, as an association, pursue the question of zoning (on which licences depend) with an unrelenting tenacity until the machinery towards this end has been perfected."

What was not expected was the performance of most of the other speakers — which represents the next irony. With a few exceptions, the speakers delivered long lectures to the Kings and Queens on how to run their businesses, how to market, and so forth.

Who, one wondered, did they think

they were talking to?

For they were, in fact, talking to some of the most successful, accomplished, and ruthless entrepreneurs in South Africa — people who, without training, without infrastructure, and with continual police harassment, have done very well. But the speakers didn't seem to know it. And, after lunch, some of those successful, accomplished and ruthless entrepreneurs were growing very sleepy.

Anyone who knows shebeens and shebeeners, even shallowly, knows that they epitomise informality, camaraderie, wit, shrewdness, and bonhomie — everything, in short, that wearisome marketing conferences do not represent. Some shebeeners must have felt if this was what white business was all about, then best head back for the dusty streets.

Some speakers would have been wiser had they paid heed to the style, attitude and spirit conveyed by the apocryphal Soweto story which Mafuna told at one point: "A student came to Peggy Bel-Aire at the height of the '76 riots and said 'We are bringing politics to the shebeens.' 'That's okay,' Peggy replied, 'but how do you sell these politics? By the bottle or in nips?'"

On the other hand the main manne were not there out of love for their black brothers. They were there because business is business, and liquor profits in Soweto alone are in the region of R12-million for spirits, R1-million for wine and R48-million for beer.

If legalisation goes ahead smoothly, shebeeners will not only have to suffer more long conferences of a marketing nature, they will also have to discover that the world of free enterprise is not as free as its proponents claim, especially when it comes to liquor.

Also, once some shebeeners are legalised and paying tax and GST, they are not going to take kindly to shebeeners who remain illegal. They — the legal ones — will find themselves representative of the very forces they are fighting now.

And that zoning issue remains a big one. It's very nice of Dr Du Plessis to encourage the NTA to stick at it so doggedly. But the mind boggles at the thought of several thousand shebeen aunties adjusting to the idea that their living rooms must now all of a sudden be rezoned as "business premises".

Can First World order ever really sit easy on Third World patterns, or will tissue rejection get it all in the end? ●

REPUBLIC TOPS AFRICAN CREDIT STAKES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 p 11

[Article by Aida Parker]

[Text]

DESPITE the increasingly tough and sophisticated economic onslaught mounted against it, particularly by leftist-liberal forces in the US and Europe, South Africa remains Africa's most creditworthy nation.

That is the finding of the latest six-monthly assessment of country risk published by the New York magazine, Institutional Investors.

Taking 100 as the mean, South Africa scores 60.5, 14.3 above the global average rating.

In the African context, it is followed by Algeria, 55.7; Nigeria 52.3; Tunisia 46; Libya 42.8; Ivory Coast 39.9; Kenya 35.1; Gabon 35 and Morocco 33.4.

The slippage then becomes alarming. Zimbabwe scores a low 26.3; Malawi 20.1; Mauritius 19.4; Angola 16.8; Zambia 12.8; Tanzania 12; Zaire 6.1 and Uganda at the bottom with 5.4.

According to the most recent World

Bank report, published late last month, the current account deficit of ten East African states presents "a gloomy picture."

The states named are Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe, which between them comprise 90 percent of Eastern Africa's population and output.

According to the World Bank, the joint current account deficit of these ten states rose from \$2 000-million in 1979 to \$4 800-million.

"This increase in the deficit took place despite stagnation or decline in the increase in the volume of imports," the bank said.

According to UN reports, the total Third World debt over the past decade has quadrupled to \$400 000-million, most of this due for repayment in the next three to four years — a factor which is adding a critical dimension to the current world banking crisis.

CSO: 4700/1887

SOUL-SEARCHING OF AFRIKANER YOUTH DESCRIBED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Sep 82 pp 11-12

[Open letter by Eban Venter: "Heaven and Hell in the Afrikaner Struggle"]

[Text] **T**HIS letter is written to my people, the loyal Afrikaners who knew me in my childhood as a true Afrikaner and who now reject me and many young Afrikaners like me because they believe we have turned against them. It is written in the hope that by reflecting on that which alienates us from you, we will be able to strengthen our ties with you.

The fundamental awareness of my roots I hold with great reverence. In 1658, almost 3½ centuries and 13 generations ago, our arch-grandfather arrived at the Cape. Centuries later my great-grandfather, MP Daantjie van den Heveer, advocated the official recognition of High-Dutch. Paul Kruger consequently rewarded him with two gold medals and a statue of his daughter, my great aunt, was erected on the Burgersdorp town square. It became South Africa's first monument to a language. Through my ancestors I am thus inextricably bound to Africa and the Afrikaans language struggle.

In addition to these bonds, I was born and bred in the very heart of Afrikaner traditions. I grew up on a Karoo farm, I was a member of the Voortrekker movement, the Afrikaner's struggle for political freedom was related to me, in the evenings my father read from the Family Bible by lamplight...

In the Burgersdorp district, where my family has been living and working as sheep farmers for generations, my parents devoted themselves to the Afrikaner struggle for economic freedom. By the sweat of their brow they raised the state of our family's standard of living from a reasonably poor to a financially independent one. Thus the means were provided for me to attend university after school.

But at the University of Potchefstroom, strangely enough, an "Afrikaner bakermat van nasionaal-christelike onderwys" I started internalizing a critical awareness. I became critically conscious of my political, religious and ethical "moulding" on the one hand and of my "volk", church and culture on the other hand.

My critical apparatus was composed of "internal" and "external" elements. At home I was taught to love (my) people unconditionally. And my parents never failed in teaching me to share unselfishly, that nobody should be favoured one above the other and that everyone should receive equally what was rightfully his or hers. Thus I was "engraved" with the principle of love for thy neighbour and a notion of justice. From the "outside" my critical consciousness was sharpened by, amongst others, discussions at university, ideas in opposition newspapers, radical black consciousness literature and personal discussions and experiences with black, "coloured" and "Indian" communities) in Ikageng, Zwide, Soweto and elsewhere.

The light of deeply embedded principles and "external" perceptions bared the darker sides of various institutions. The NP, set on the struggle for Afrikaner freedom, was exposed as an authoritarian, totalitarian power forcing grave injustices on the majority of the South African population (this authoritarian mentality is duplicated in the "baas/leinbasie": farm worker relationships on farms etc.). The pure doctrines of the NG, Gereformeerde and Hervormde Kerke suffered credibility as the synod and most ministers and members of church fail to extricate themselves in practice and theory

from the atrocities brought about by NP policies. And the innocent Voortrekker movement became a parallel to Nazi youth movements indoctrinating the youth with nationalism for the sake of one "volk" only.

**M**y criticism of the Afrikaner might seem ruthless. However I am sincere in my attempt to understand your profound commitment to nationalism for the sake of continuing the Afrikaner struggle. But it is unacceptable to me that this commitment implies a struggle at the cost of other people's freedom. I deeply sympathize with you when you fear that your property, your land for which you have toiled so hard your entire life, the soil which you love so dearly, will be threatened should a black government come to power.

But do not blame me if I refuse to visit my family on a barbed wire protected farm with a machine gun under my seat. I speak the very same mothertongue as you do. But do not reject me for dissociating myself from Afrikaans, for it has become the language of the oppressor. I still believe in the principle of love for they neighbour which you affirm in your churches' creeds. But forgive me, I do not understand how you reconcile this principle with your politics.

The new military laws will soon compel me to take part in annual camps – to defend and possibly die for an ideology I do not believe in. This seems senseless and irreconcilable with my beliefs. I am thus faced with an alternative: refusal to do military service which could lead to military imprisonment for a year or who

knows how long or leaving the country.

Opting for the latter means relieving myself of the schizophrenic existence between the *heaven* of "skaapboude en bobotie", the burnt orange of Karoo sunsets, hearing Afrikaans and the *hell* of farmworkers "ja baasing", scantily dressed farm children on cold winter mornings, uprooted women and children in resettlement camps and the "suicide" of political prisoners in detention without trial. Because South Africa has become a heaven which I cannot enjoy to the full and a hell to which I can hardly bring salvation.

Leaving the country will also save me from a seemingly probable, apocalyptic future situation when I shall have to make a choice (of life) between my people (with whom I share ties of love and blood, but whose politics I find unacceptable) and the black people (whose political aspirations I share, but not their culture).

However, the choice to leave South Africa would also be the most far-reaching decision of my personal life. It implies wrenching myself away from the bonds tying me to the country of my birth.

What it does not imply is the abandonment of the principles which I was brought up with. These principles will always constitute my foundation and my "being-bound-to" Africa and Afrikaans.

The coming of Azania is a fact of South Africa's political future. In the hope that that will result in a more just dispensation for all, I shall surely, if I have left South Africa by then, consider returning to the southern part of Africa. Meanwhile I am asking one more time, the last time, that your love will be accommodating enough to understand such a decision in the years to come.

CSO: 4700/1891

SA HOPES FOR DIPLOMAT TIES DASHED IN BANGUI

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Aug 82 p 19

[Article by Henry Reuter]

[Text]

BANGUI — Until a couple of years ago many South Africans regarded the Central African Republic as a kind of black hope for breaking trade barriers, an extension of the bulwark against international communism, a beacon of enlightenment.

Jean Bedel Bokassa, when he grabbed power from his nephew David Dacko in 1968 launched a manhunt for Chinese communist bogymen and declared open house for trade, commerce and investment.

When Dacko used the French to help him regain control in September 1979 he went further. He kicked out the Soviet and Libyan "advisers" and shook black Africa to the core by announcing he planned to establish diplomatic links with South Africa.

Uncle Jean Bedel had only amused the world when he had himself declared emperor and got away for years with keeping his political enemies in chains and committing appalling atrocities.

It took a spate of child murders and a worldwide wave of indignation to force the

French to provide Dacko with troops for his mercy mission.

But in many African eyes Dacko's subsequent verbal crime was more heinous than anything Bokassa had committed — despite widespread agreement here that Dacko had tried hard in his second period of rule to rebuild democratic institutions as well as the economy and to correct many of Bokassa's abuses.

He allowed political parties to function and even arranged in April last year a fair presidential election in which he was returned to power.

After this he became sick and sensitive to the enmities he had incurred by his remarks on South Africa. Few were surprised when the army, led by Chief of General Staff Andre Kolingba and reportedly also with French backing, took over quietly last September.

Dacko retired to his coffee farm 50 km from Bangui.

The country is now run by President Andre Kolingba (47) and a government of soldiers which calls itself the Military Committee

**for Reform.**

Evidence of French support came last March when rebels led by Jangé Patasse (Prime Minister under Bokassa) seized the Bangui radio station but were overpowered by troops led by a French secret service man.

Patasse then took refuge in the French Embassy in Bangui, which later arranged for him to be quietly exiled to Togo.

France, which has a military base and retains 1 200 troops, and which also foots the bills (last year it paid about R80 million) is now pressing the Kolingba Government to organise itself.

It wants Kolingba to appoint civilian Ministers and make at least a token move towards elections and civilian rule.

Kolingba, respected as a career military man, has so far expressed no political ambitions.

A report from Government councils suggests inviting the Russians back -- to

provide health services, which the country lacks.

Kolingba is not outspokenly anti-South African. Shops in Bangui still offer the South African canned fruit, vegetables and meat, which comes in through Libreville, Gabon.

His main problem -- like that of his predecessors -- is that the country has no sound economic base.

Only some 50 000 of the 2.3 million people are in paid jobs -- about half in the 4 000-strong army and the civil service, the rest being servants, drivers and other low-paid workers.

As for South Africa's hopes, these seem to be enshrined in a boarded up building site in Bangui where, during Bokassa's regime South African interests embarked on building a 500-bed hotel.

Work was abandoned mysteriously nine years after it started. They still talk in whispers of the grand thefts from the site of everything from timber to television sets.

CSO: 4700/1889

RESETTLEMENT OF THREE ESTABLISHED COMMUNITIES PLANNED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 16 Aug 82 p 9

[Article by Harry Mashabela]

[Text]

AFTER living happily together for about 70 years, the communities of Daggakraal, Driefontein and Ngema — numbering about 50 000 Zulus, Swazis and South Sotho — in the Amersfoort and Wakkerstroom districts are now earmarked for destruction and resettlement elsewhere.

The Government has declared Daggakraal, Driefontein and Ngema (officially named Kafferlokasie), black spots and wants the inhabitants to move — Swazis to Lochiel in KaNgwane, Zulus to Babanango, near Ulundi, the KwaZulu capital, and the South Sotho to an unspecified place in QwaQwa, the designated South Sotho homeland.

But the people have not been told of the proposed incorporation of KaNgwane, the Swazi homeland, into neighbouring Swaziland.

Nor have the other ethnic groups been told whether or not the regions to which they will be moved will become part of their designated homelands — KwaZulu and QwaQwa.

Daggakraal stand-owners were simply told by Mr W J van Niekerk, Chief Commissioner for Northern Areas, last Tuesday that, in terms of Government policy, Zulus have to be grouped with Zulus, South Sotho with South Sotho and Swazis with Swazis..

Driefontein and the neighbouring Ngema have to give way to a dam being constructed by the Department

of Water Affairs on the Umkonto River.

But officials give no reason other than it being a "a black spot" for the removal of Daggakraal.

The Department of Co-operation and Development has been trying to persuade inhabitants to move away since the early 60s. But the people have resisted.

The protracted resistance is perhaps best illustrated by the poor condition of the dirt roads crisscrossing the settlements, a sign that maintenance is neglected in an attempt to pressurise inhabitants.

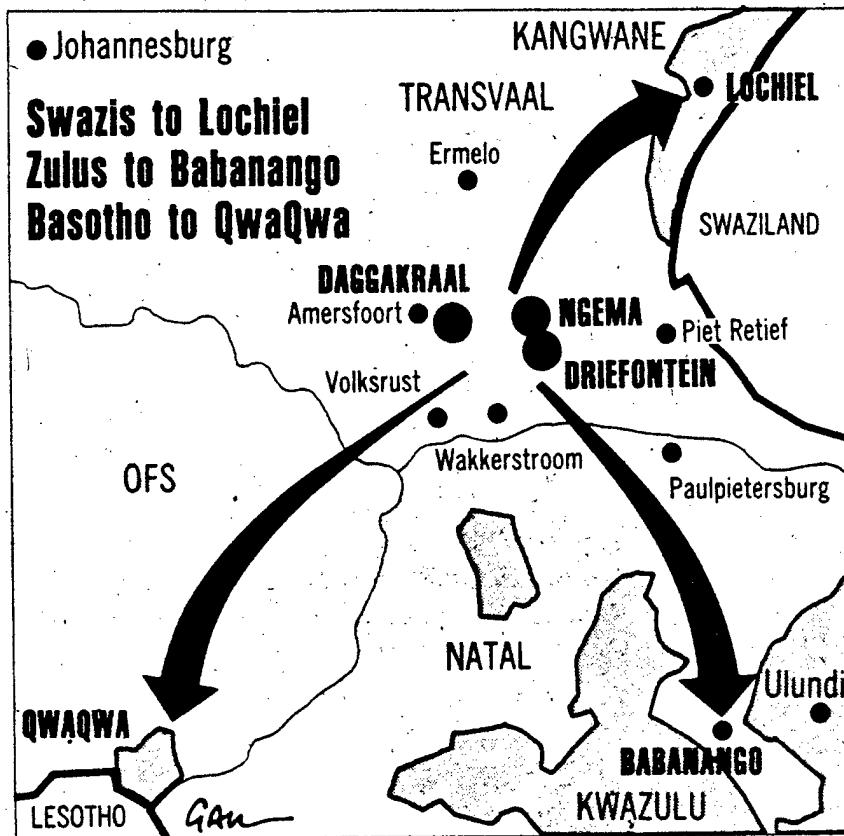
Resistance is stronger at Daggakraal. In Driefontein, where Mr Van Niekerk addressed the 300 stand-owners in the area last Monday, the local Driefontein Community Board, headed by Mr Stephen Msibi as chairman, was accused of "selling-out."

But Mr Msibi's village board refuted the accusations, claiming it was equally opposed to the proposed removal of the settlement.

At Daggakraal last Tuesday, the nearly 1 000 stand-owners who met department officials, including Mr Van Niekerk, made it clear they did not want to move.

They did not even want to continue discussing the question of removal with officials, they said, because they were not given any agenda before the meeting at a local school.

Arguing that their opposi-



tion to the removal was stated at previous meetings, they refused to put questions after officials had addressed the meeting. The stand-owners said they wanted officials to send the local village committee an advance agenda of any future meetings so that the committee could discuss it with residents before the meeting.

They also wanted minutes of previous meetings to be read at the beginning of each future meeting. Otherwise, they said they would not participate in any talks with officials.

Situated on three huge farms, Daggakraal was established in the district of Amersfoort when the first black families bought plots with title deeds there in 1911.

The area grew over the years and there are today some 1 000 stand-owners in Daggakraal. Some of them have allowed tenants to build houses for their families on the stands at a fee — a little more than R20 each year.

There are also open lands

where cattle, sheep and horses graze and where crops are grown — usually maize.

Three primaries and a junior secondary school serve the Daggakraal community. There are also eight shops, including two owned by Indians.

Driefontein and the adjoining Ngema were established in 1912 in the Wakkerstroom district. Inhabitants also enjoyed freehold rights, but the two areas are much smaller than Daggakraal.

They also have their own schools, including a junior secondary school, trading stores and lands where villagers plough and graze livestock.

There is plenty of water at Daggakraal and at Driefontein, including Ngema. Besides the rivers running through the settlements, a number of families have boreholes on their properties.

Each of the three communities has its own cemetery, too, where their dead — old and young — have been buried over the years.

Most men in Daggakraal, Driefontein and Ngema work in Amersfoort, Wakkerstroom, Piet Retief, Ermelo, Volksrus, Paupietersburg or on the Witwatersrand.

Resistance to removal has persisted despite promises by the department to give stand-owners "compensatory land of equal pastoral and agricultural value, with title deeds".

Families have also been promised:

- Adequate compensation in cash for their houses.
- Clinics, schools, water, roads and sanitation facilities in the new areas.
- Transportation of their livestock and all reclaimable materials — doors, window frames and corrugated iron — free of charge.

● Compensation in cash of all articles that may be damaged during removal.

● Temporary housing in the form of tents or prefabricated houses until they complete building their homes.

● Free food rations for the first three days while families are settling down in the new areas.

It was evident at the meetings this week officials did not want confrontation. They stressed they were negotiating with the people, not forcing them to go.

But it was also apparent indirect pressures were being put on the communities, such as the bad condition of the roads. Perhaps the Government will resort to other forms of pressure if the resistance continues.

CSO: 4700/1889

CANCELLATION OF SOCCER TOUR RAISES ISSUES

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Sep 82 pp 15-16

[Article by Dr Nthato Motlana: "Lessons From the Soccer Tour"]

[Text] **T**HE question of the rebel soccer tour has raised a number of issues including some which are enough to drive any decent person to fury. One of these is the hysterical racist reaction we have been seeing from so many whites since the tour was called off. This has been expressed publicly in the letters columns of the 'white' papers and most noticeably in the ravings of a certain sports reporter attached to a newspaper which has long enjoyed the reputation of being sympathetic to the black man's cause.

Blacks have been called 'wreckers', "ingrates", "spoilsports" and "immature" among other things. One letter managed to bring in "cannibals". Apart from the abysmal lack of awareness and understanding displayed by these white people who refuse to countenance the existence of broader needs than soccer and who automatically recoil the moment any black man fails to say "dankie baas" for whatever the whites dish up for him, it is noteworthy that there is no question of any of these letters falling foul of the law.

The South African statute books are littered with provisions which prohibit the cultivation of animosity between different races, but these provisions are only ever used one way in practice. Should any black publication appear with any general critical comment on the behaviour or characteristics of whites it can be sure to expect trouble. But it is always open season for whites to be able to say whatever they want about blacks.

One other result of the tour's flop is that there has been a mild revival of the sporadic interest which whites show in black attitudes in times of trouble.

During the troubled times of '76 and '77 white businessmen could not hear enough of what was going on among blacks and there were many blacks who were overwhelmed with invitations to address seminars and board meetings. Then when the heat cooled off that flow of interest dried up. Now once again white firms have been rudely reminded, even in a very inexpensive way, that they had better take account of what blacks are thinking.

One of the most senior black managers in a certain firm tells me he had suddenly met all of his superiors in the last few weeks. For three years previously few of them had even known that he was working with them.

Thirdly, the big flop has given blacks resounding evidence that if we work together we can achieve results.

**A**fter 1976 the cohesion among black people diminished. Certain elements outside the country were unhappy that they had not been adequately involved in the events of 1976 and tried to influence all subsequent black political activity. As a result ideological differences became the order of the day and there was increasing rivalry between different factions. This tour has broken that stranglehold for the first time and a beautiful unity has emerged.

The background is that when the cricket tour was arranged the black community was appalled and outraged, but our outrage was expressed in private and in shebeens and in the streets of the townships. It went no further. But when SA Breweries invited the rebel soccer team in the mistaken belief that black would flock in their hundreds of

thousands the outrage became acute. Some people got together and said something must be done.

Initially Azapo made the running but then after a chance meeting outside the bank in Dube, Mr L.M. Mathabathe took the ball and ran with it, doing it almost full time for days. It was he who arranged the meetings and mobilised by now an incensed public and to him must go the principal credit for having brought about this first, albeit modest, breakthrough which we in the black community have seen for a long time.

Up to then the whole opposition cause had been presented as being purely a black consciousness matter, with certain newspapers referring in every second sentence to BC. Mathabathe transcended the BC constrictions and brought in unity.

What is difficult to understand is why the sponsors displayed such ignorance of black attitudes towards sporting links with the outside world.

Here I must concede that in hindsight I too have erred in this respect, in attending the Terror Mathebula fight. This was an error of judgement by me and many people have never forgiven me for it. But at least the World Boxing Association and the World Boxing Council sanction fights against South African opponents whereas FIFA has specifically banned matches against South Africa and for good reason. Blacks see FIFA as fighting our battle, and when FIFA says that soccer in South Africa is far from integrated we echo that enthusiastically. FIFA are heroes to many blacks, and it is because of organisations like FIFA as well as others like Sanroc and individuals like Peter Hain that those few changes which there have been have taken place.

It should have been within the power of a company like SA Breweries to understand that.

Instead, with a few exceptions the newspapers were all singing the same false tune up until the time that the extent of black reaction became impossible to ignore. They were all saying, with George Thabe, that soccer had done everything possible to integrate.

But this is nonsense. There is no integration in school or at amateur level.

South African soccer can by no stretch of the imagination be described as completely integrated. The fact that a few clubs now have members of the "other" colour does not make even them integrated. Chiefs is still black and Dion Highlands white.

**M**aybe we could have lived with the tour if Thabe and his cohorts had admitted that football was facing impossible problems because of what government, the Transvaalonderwysunie and the racist environment are doing to sport.

Instead they invited these foreigners under the pretence that everything was normal and that soccer had achieved all that was to be achieved. Do they take us for morons or cretins to accept this?

Now we have people talking nonsense about how SA soccer has been set back by decades. This is rubbish but if it was true it would not be a bad thing. I would like to see less obsession with soccer. Less promotion of soccer and less expense on soccer, so that some of our young people would be left free to turn their minds to the problems of their people instead of filling them to exclusion with thoughts of Kaizer Chiefs or Orlando Pirates.

I do not share the euphoria that has been expressed by many blacks since the cancellation. I am well aware that in the totality of the struggle this is a very small landmark. But it has been valuable in several ways.

It has shown white companies that they must take us seriously, and has shown blacks the power of unity.

It has also reminded many blacks that sport is not everything, and has reminded us that we will refuse to sacrifice our dignity for the sake of seeing a few stars on a field.

It has shown up the split between black aspirations and white understanding of black aspirations, which is useful in educating whites.

It has shown that no-one should assume that because there has been a lull therefore black opposition has disappeared.

It has shown that when the bullhorn is blown people with leadership are ready willing and able to emerge from the townships and to take to the streets and act, and that the people respond. ●

FUTURE OF SA INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL SPORTS DISCUSSED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 pp 3, 10

[Text] Howa Sees Sport Slow Death

**SOUTH Africa will never be accepted back into international sport until all discriminatory legislation — not only that related to sport — has been removed according to former South African Council of Sport president, Mr Hassan Howa.**

"Sport will die a slow death until social and other discriminating laws have been removed," he said in Cape Town in response to a Human Sciences Research Council report on sport in South Africa.

"Lord Chalfont, president of the London-based Freedom in Sport organisation, recently confirmed this when he visited South Africa as a guest of the Sports Foundation," said Mr Howa.

"At the time, he said that South Africa's pos-

ition in international sport would not change until all discriminating legislation had been removed from all spheres of society.

"I am not encouraging people to mix. All I am saying is that everybody should have the right to make his own choice."

Mr Howa recalled that Mr Rudolf Opperman, president of the SA Olympic and National Games Association, as well as State President Marais Viljoen, recently called Sacos the "enemy of the State".

"I find it rather surprising that the HSRC now recommends that Sacos be given the option to be taken up in the proposed SA Sports Council."

Mr Howa said that he could not comment on the whole HSRC

Teachers' Warning on Sports Contact

IF sports contact in schools were to be used to promote multiracialism, the Transvaal Educators' Society would reject it, said Mr John Lambson, president of the society.

Mr Lambson was commenting on recommendations concerning mixed sport in South African schools done by a special committee of the Human Sciences Research Council which investigated school

sport as part of an investigation into the entire sport situation in the country.

He said TES had no objection in principle to these suggestions as it seemed to him that the status quo would be retained.

#### No Objection

"We have no objections to sport contact in schools if it is used to promote understanding and goodwill," he said.

"But if it is going to be used to promote the essentially political theory of multiracialism, we won't stand for it."

TES had no objections to an umbrella body for school sport in South Africa, providing it was a federal concept.

"The umbrella organisation will have to reflect all sides of opinion; official and unofficial," Mr Lambson said.

Decision-making concerning mixed sport in South African schools will be put in the hands of the people who are directly involved in these sports, said Mr Eddie Brown, president of the Transvaal Teachers' Association.

#### Tied Up

Commenting on recommendations concerning sports contact in schools made by a special committee of the Human Sciences Research Council, Mr Brown said the suggestions were tying up the De Lange Commission report on local management exercising its opinion.

"It is a very good suggestion, it worked well for Craven Week and if this is to be extended to all school sport, TTA thinks it is a very sound decision," Mr Brown said.

"It is the child and the parent who can take this decision and that is where the decision should be taken."

#### Doubts

Mr Brown had certain doubts concerning the single umbrella body for school sport. "If this body is going to lead to increased participation and if it facilitates local decision, it is acceptable.

"But if it has too many rules and regulations endangering the freedom of decision on local level, we are not for it. As long as it doesn't become the body first and sport second."

## Probe Already Begun

THE formation of an umbrella sports body for all universities is already under investigation by university bodies.

The chairman of the South African Universities Sports Council, Professor Tjaart van der Walt, rector of Potchefstroom University, said:

"We have been investigating the possibilities of an umbrella body for all universities for quite a while now.

"The main aim of the investigation is to try to get bigger participation [word missing] sports meetings from all universities

But it was not easy to get all South African universities to participate [word missing] professor said.

"The problem is very much [word missing] cal," he added.

## HSRC Sports Report Released

**ONE of the most comprehensive investigations yet undertaken into sport was released in Pretoria yesterday by the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.**

Releasing the report of the main committee of the Human Sciences Research Council, Dr Viljoen said he hoped the Government would be in a position next year to express its views on it, or parts of it.

At a Press conference, he said the Government was aware that the research and the writing of the report and the component reports required a great deal of work.

"The total of 154 recommendations cover a wide field, affect a great many private and public bodies and are, in some cases drastic.

"It will therefore be understood that the Government cannot immediately decide on the report but would like first to give the public, particularly interested

parties, an opportunity to study the report and its recommendations thoroughly and to comment."

The report was, therefore, now being released for general information and interested bodies and members of the public were invited to submit their comments to the Director-General of National Education, Private Bag X122, Pretoria, before the end of the year.

The HSRC report, Dr Viljoen said, covered a wide field, but three aspects were of particular importance. These were:

● The responsibilities of society, particularly the authorities, in providing sport;

● The inadequate way sport in South Africa was organised overall and the recommendation arising from this that a structure be created for the co-ordinated provision of sport by the formation of an SA Sports Council, including the proposals for its composition, powers and functions; and

● The way in which the activities of the council should, according to the report, be financed from Government and other sources.

The investigation, Dr Viljoen said, revealed clearly that the administration of sport was hampered by a badly fragmented overall management structure.

"When the proposed structure of the Sports Council is considered, however, thorough consideration will have to be given to the objectives, composition and powers of such a council.

"Furthermore, the recommendations concerning the advantages and necessity of the continued existence of certain national sporting bodies in addition to the proposed Sports Council with its strong overall co-ordinating functions will have to be carefully considered."

The report, Dr Viljoen said, had been drawn up from the point of view of a philosophy that awarded high priority to the role

in society of competitive, recreational and therapeutic sport.

"This led the HSRC to make recommendations that apparently assign a more important place in Government spending to sport and its administration than it has enjoyed until now."

The Government would have to clarify for itself the degree of preference it should give sport within the limits of a naturally re-

stricted financial capability.

A further striking aspect of the report, Dr Viljoen said, was that emphasis was placed throughout on sport as a universally human phenomenon and on the fundamental freedom of each individual to take part in sport.

"This leads to a view that everything possible should be done to make sport accessible to all."

Central to this approach was a philos-

ophy that it was incumbent on society in general to provide a series of services, facilities and opportunities for the enjoyment of sport by individuals.

"I should think that society and particularly Government and the State should play a supportive role in the provision of sport, supplementing the initiatives of individuals, private organisations and clubs, rather than guaranteeing basic provision," Dr Viljoen said.

## SA Sports Council Urged [Excerpts]

AN in-depth investigation should be launched into discriminatory legislation and should make recommendations on how to get rid of unjustifiable discrimination in sport, the Human Sciences Research Council has recommended.

This is one of the recommendations in the main committee's report on the HSRC's probe into sport in South Africa.

Presenting the report to the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday, the president of the HSRC, Dr J G Garbers, said he hoped the investigation and the recommendations made would provide the basis for future decision-making on sports matters.

In its report, the HSRC says the investigation into discrimination should be interdisciplinary.

"The statutory nature of discrimination, however, does require that there be a strong jurisprudential focus."

The main report is based on the findings and recommendations of 17 sub-reports. The investigation was carried out under the chairmanship of Professor G J L Scholtz, of the Potchefstroom Universi-

ty.

After considering all the findings, the committee says, it became clear that consideration would have to be given to the desirability of amalgamating or fusing certain sport structures.

This led to the following key recommendations:

- That an autonomous statutory South African Sports Council be established;
- That the following institutions be given the option to be taken up in the proposed Sports Council on the understanding that the interests of the employees concerned would not be prejudiced — the SA Sports Federation, the SA Trimmers Federation, the RSA Sports Trust, the SA Council on Sport, or most of the Directorate, Sport Promotion, of the Department of National Education, and the Sport and Recreation Division of the Department of Co-operation and Development.

The committee also recommends that:

- The South African Olympic and National Games Association and the SA Association for Physical Education and Recreation remain in existence and be enabled to carry out their

functions effectively; and

- All representative national sports controlling bodies be invited to affiliate with the proposed SA Sports Council.

If these recommendations were to be implemented, the report says, a new era would dawn in the important contribution of the Sport Foundation of Southern Africa to the provision of sport.

"There was complete agreement that this institution, financed by the Rembrandt group of companies, should remain in existence in the interests of sport in the Republic.

"Consultations will have to be held with these companies in the hope that sports services of this nature will be able to be expanded in the future.

A number of key findings indicate inadequate sports provision by sports bodies, the report continues.

"It was also found that the rationalisation of scarce resources was essential. It should be noted that sports management in the Republic, from macro to club level, mainly depends on the input of individuals who are involved on

a voluntary, unpaid, part-time basis usually in their own free time and out of a love of sport."

The key finding of the HSRC sports investigation points to an ineffective macro structure for the provision of sport.

In 11 of the 17 sub-reports it was found that existing pressure areas could largely be attributed to fragmented and ineffective macro provision. This, the report says, points to the necessity for a new and effective structure.

The main causes of ineffective macro sports provision were inadequate means, fragmentation in sports provis-

ion, overlapping and clashing of functions, and divisiveness and conflict between sports institutions.

The multiracial committee consisted of Prof G J L Scholtz (chairman), Mr A J Arense, Mr K J Bodenstein, Mr J W Brandt, Dr J G Garbers, Mr J B Haasbroek, Prof C Hanekom, Mr R Hemraj, Dr J M Lotter, Prof H I Nel, Prof P A Nel, Prof C F Nieuwoudt, Mr J H Olivier, Mr R W J Opperman, Prof W J Putter, Mr M E Ramagoshi, Dr W Rosenberg, Dr P Smit, Prof G L Strydom, Mr G A L Thabe, Dr F J G van der Merwe and Prof J C van der Walt.

### Take Away Powers, Says Report

THE ordinances in terms of which Administrators are empowered to compel local authorities to reserve separate sports facilities should be repealed, a special committee of the HSRC says.

In its main committee report following an investigation into the sport in the Republic, the HSRC says the power at local level to make sports facilities available should be depoliticised as far as possible.

"This implies that the making available of facilities lies within the scope of the normal activities of a local authority, the report says.

"The autonomy of the local authority should be respected. Any form of compulsion is an unjustified interference in the autonomy of a local authority.

"In the Orange Free State this type of ordinance does not exist. This indicates that such ordinances are not necessary (in the Cape Province, Natal and the Transvaal)."

The committee also recommends that the autonomy of each local authority to decide to provide facilities for either open or separate use be recognised.

"This recommendation implies that the Administrators'

powers to compel local authorities in the Cape Province, Natal and the Transvaal to reserve separate facilities should be repealed . . .

"The primary function of a local authority is to act in the public interest — and this also applies to the making available of sports facilities.

"Public interest stretches far beyond the interests of taxpayers and it includes the interests of all the inhabitants of an area.

"The normalisation of sport, also in respect of the making available of sports facilities, is an important factor in determining public interest. Sport is, however, not practised in isolation.

"Therefore account must be taken of the interest in orderly development of social relations when making sports facilities available. It is in everyone's interest therefore that the opening of facilities should take place in an orderly way. An orderly provision of open facilities requires uniform guidelines.

"A single body, outside the political arena, should be responsible for this. A central Sports Council should fulfil this function."

## Umbrella Body For 'Varsities

THE Human Sciences Research Council has recommended the establishment of one umbrella sports body for all South African universities, to be known as the South African University Sports Council.

The HSRC said the university body should be a member of the proposed South African Sports Council, with representation on the board.

The report also advised that steps be taken to increase sports staff at universities.

"Existing practices at state universities regarding the staffing of sports offices are inadequate to render effective services to sport," the report said.

The HSRC also recommended one umbrella sport organisation for teachers' training colleges — to be known as the South African Sports Council for Teachers' Training Colleges — which would also fall under the South African Sports Council and have representation on its board, and a similar organisation for school sport.

## National Fund Suggested

THE Government should consider increasing and rationalising its sport expenditure and this should be principally channelled through a Central Sports Fund, the HSRC committee says.

The committee makes several recommendations on where the money should come from:

- The Government should allocate a total amount annually, via Parliament, to the Central Sports Fund;
- The Government

should start a scheme of redeemable, interest-bearing sports bonds, administered by the Central Sports Fund, and

- Additional funds for school sport should be obtained by increased contributions from parents.

The latter recommendation is in accordance with the increasing realisation in teaching circles that parents will, in future, have to play an ever-increasing role in funding school expenditure, the report says.

## Claim 'Unfounded'

THE committee of the HSRC has rejected as "unfounded" a claim by Sacos that it represents most sportsmen in South Africa.

The committee says it should be borne in mind that the organisation draws its main support from Indians and to a lesser extent from Coloureds.

It points out that Asians, who include Indians, and Coloureds

only account for about 13.8 percent of the total South African population.

"Also in the light of the lesser extent to which these population groups participate in sport, the claim is completely unfounded. Sacos represents, at the most, 10 percent of all sports participants in South Africa," the report says.

Businesses Taken to Task [Excerpt]

THE Human Sciences Research Council report on sport recommends that large firms should form an umbrella Sports Council.

"From the viewpoint of sport, such an um-

rella body could serve as a valuable starting point to make the private sector more amenable to sport, and it could lead to better mutual liaison and co-ordination of sports interests," it said.

It was significant that almost half of the industries and large business undertakings involved in the HSRC investigation--excluding the mines--did not accept responsibility for providing financial assistance or facilities for sport.

"Since sports provision is the co-responsibility of sport itself, the individual, the private sector and the Government, the relative uninvolvement on the part of the group known as large business undertakings can only be damaging for sport in general.

"Although no private institution can be forced to make a contribution to sports provision in South Africa, it must be pointed out that the relative uninvolvement among most of the large business undertakings is not in the interest of national sport, and not in the interest of a country's sport that finds itself in a crisis in terms of management and international isolation," the report said.

CSO: 4700/1887

BRIEFS

UNIVERSITY FERMENT--PRETORIA University executive has been asked by a group of students for permission to hold a mass meeting to protest against the University council decision to open the campus to other races on a selective basis. Mr Paul Grobler, secretary of the SRC said yesterday that a specific motion would be debated at the meeting. The wording of the motion was not yet known, but it would "very definitely" be opposed to the opening of the university. The campus was also rife yesterday with rumours of plans for a mass protest march. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 p 9]

SPLIT IN NP--CAPE TOWN--It was not impossible that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, himself could become a casualty of the split in the National Party, Dr Alex Boraine, Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands said last night. Speaking at the annual general meeting of the Helderberg branch of the PFP, Dr Boraine said everyday events underlined the fact that the split in the NP could not be interpreted in strictly political terms. "The nationalist giant is beginning to topple as its very foundations have shifted ground. So far, the Prime Minister has not been able to gain new support from traditional opposition voters, because the image he presents is both obscure and embattled. His so-called new initiatives are characterised by rhetoric rather than by action. He is in danger of being pulled apart by forces of reaction on the one hand, and forces of reform on the other. He stands helplessly and timidly in the middle watching the erosion take place from both sides," Dr Boraine said. "Therefore, it is not impossible that the Prime Minister himself may become a casualty of the split." Dr Boraine said the public of South Africa apparently felt that the Government must have known about the abortive Seychelles coup. "They must also have known about South African soldiers being involved in the Mozambique Resistance Movement. Is it possible that senior members of the Defence Force are unaware of what is happening under their very noses?" he asked. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 p 8]

DOCKS 'WORKING NORMALLY'--PORT ELIZABETH--No problems were encountered with dock-workers at the Port Elizabeth Harbour yesterday, Mr Leon Els, a spokesman for the South African Transport Department said. Dockworkers arrived for the 6 am shift and work was resumed. Mr Els said other harbours were also functioning normally. Talks on the Port Elizabeth Harbour situation were held yesterday by the SA Transport Department's executive in Port Elizabeth. Stevedores working for private companies had discussed the possibility of

sympathetic action with dockworkers who were dismissed after last week's general strike. Five ships were in port on Sunday and five out of port. Not all of them were waiting to enter the harbour, Mr Els said. At least two were oil tankers which were lying in the shelter of the bay. Reports that stevedores at Cape Town Harbour were questioned by Security Police were unfounded, Mr Els said. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 p 4]

TREURNICHT PROBE--POLICE have denied that a suspect was being questioned about the false Radio Highveld report that the Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had been assassinated. A Johannesburg Afrikaans newspaper said a Johannesburg man holidaying in the Free State would be questioned in connection with the incident. The newspaper also quoted "reliable sources" as saying that the person concerned had planned his actions with a sound knowledge of SABC communications and that the incident was not intended as a light-hearted joke. The report said there were strong suspicions that the person wanted to create a so-called "Verwoerd Syndrome" around Dr Treurnicht and we had obtained the telex number of the outside broadcasts unit at the Pretoria Show from correspondence between the SABC and the Post Office. Colonel Chris Coetzee, police liaison officer at SAP Headquarters in Pretoria, said no arrests had been made and that he knew nothing of the Free State reports. "As far as I'm concerned, the story was a load of cock-and-bull," he said. The investigating officer in the case is Brigadier H A du Plessis. A spokesman in his office, Capt A J Muller, said the investigation was still continuing and "no arrests have yet been made." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 p 13]

THREE GUILTY OF TREASON--PIETERMARITZBURG--Three men--Patrick Maquebela, Mboniswa Maqhutylana and Seth Gaba--have been found guilty in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court of high treason. Counsel for defence is to deliver its plea in mitigation today. The charges against the men arose from the bomb explosions in and around Durban last year. Nine people were injured in the various explosions which caused about R500 000 damage. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 p 2]

DEFECTOR QUILTS SADF--THE Frelimo defector, Lieutenant Adriano Bomba, who flew to South Africa in a MiG jet fighter aircraft, has left the employ of the South African Defence Force, a spokesman for the SADF said yesterday. He was commenting on reports that Lt Bomba is at present working for the resistance movement in Mozambique--the Resistencia Nacional al Mozambique (MNR). The spokesman said that the SADF had no knowledge of Lt Bomba's present whereabouts, but confirmed that he had left the SADF in April for personal reasons. He said that Lt Bomba, who had been granted permanent residence in South Africa, had been employed in a civilian capacity as he said he had no further interest in flying. He said that he had virtually been forced by Frelimo to take up flying. While working for the SADF he was employed in the translation of Russian/Portuguese propaganda. A spokesman for the Department of Internal Affairs yesterday declined to confirm or deny that Lt Bomba had been issued with a passport and/or other travelling documents since being granted permanent South African residents. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Sep 82 p 11]

ARTISANS QUIT UNION--CAPE TOWN--The Public Servants' Association (PSA) is facing a walk-out by disgruntled artisans and technicians, who accuse it of "years of fruitless bargaining". They say that despite a grave shortage of skilled people in the public service--estimated at between 30 to 40%--their salaries have remained extremely low and uncompetitive. The final straw for many PSA members in the Western Cape is a hike in their monthly subscriptions from R1,50 to R2,50. "We can no longer afford to belong to a representative body which accomplishes nothing," ex-members said yesterday. They allege that the all-white PSA is controlled by the Broederbond and therefore does not want to confront the Government with higher salary demands for its members. The chief manager of the PSA, Mr R H Landman, said yesterday that the Government had agreed in principle that the public service should be in a position to compete with the private sector. However, funds were not available to overcome the huge backlog. "Not all groups can be granted the new structures simultaneously, but artisans will most probably receive their increases in the course of the year," he said. Sources inside the association conceded, however, that artisans and inspectors of works had received a raw deal and there was dissatisfaction among "lower structure" employees though the vast majority remained loyal to the PSA. "There has been a spate of resignations in the Cape but we believe this has been organised by certain people for their own ends," a PSA official said. "Besides those resigning are only a small proportion of our total 40 000 membership." Mr H P Loots, former Western Cape vice-chairman of the PSA, who has resigned his PSA membership, said many trained artisans and inspectors of works had left the public service to work for more than double their salaries outside. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 7 Aug 82 p 3]

KRUGERSDORP'S CD--Krugersdorp's Civil Defence Organisation last week became the seventh in the Transvaal to be awarded the coveted A grading. The organisation's emergency plan coordinator, Mr J A Steyn, said the evaluation panel judged them on 380 points, including equipment, staff preparedness and communications. "They were most impressed by our high degree of organisation," he said. "The municipality has divided its services into various departments and has appointed people to co-ordinate all operations dealing with any disaster situation." Mr Steyn said an elite corps had also been formed and trained in all aspects of disaster work. They operate on a 24-hour standby basis. The radio control room is the nerve centre of the organisation and has contact with all emergency services and schools and with some businesses and factories. Also in permanent radio communication are two doctors and a clinical psychologist who will help with the personal needs of anybody involved in a tragedy. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 Aug 82 p 10]

POLICE STOP SUZMAN--Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, who was stopped by police on Friday after visiting a black-owned farm in the Western Transvaal said yesterday she might take up the matter with the Minister of Law and Order Mr Le Grange. She was doing nothing illegal, she said. Mrs Suzman, official spokesman on Black affairs, said they had no reason to stop her as she was doing "nothing illegal" in the

performance of her duties. She said she was asked to accompany the police to the Boons police station to wait for the Security Police. "I refused to go as I had no intention of waiting for a Security Policeman to drive from Rustenburg to question me." Mrs Suzman said she was not questioned and on identifying herself, she was permitted to leave. At the invitation of tribal elders, Mrs Suzman had visited the farm Mathopestad owned by the Batlokwa tribe who are threatened with removal to the Rustenburg district. The farm had been owned by their ancestors since 1911 and the elders had the title deeds. "They feel sore and defrauded in the whole thing," she said. She hoped that the authorities "will have second or third thoughts about the removal." A police public relations directorate spokesman said yesterday that the police at Boons had received a report from Chief Arthur Mathope at 10.45 am on Friday that there were Whites in the "village" about whom he knew nothing." A police sergeant at Boons went to Mathopestad and asked Mrs Suzman to accompany him to the police station, said the spokesman. Mrs Suzman identified herself and was permitted to leave. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Sep 82 p 15]

CSO: 4700/1929

UGANDA

MINISTER DISCUSSES ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS WITH YUGOSLAVIA, OTHERS

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 30 Aug 82 pp 1, 8

[Article by Sam Serwanga]

[Text] Part of a spareparts consignment for the repair of 200 Yugoslav IMT tractors arrived here over the weekend.

The total consignment, worth 67.1m/- (671,040 US dollars), manufactured by Agronovjvodina, will be airlifted in three phases. The second and third airlift are expected in a few weeks' time.

The first part of 36 tonnes included tyres, tubes, accessories, and will be transported to Namalere Research Station where the tractors will be repaired.

This fleet, which is part of the 400 tractors were imported from Yugoslavia in 1974. They had been operating without any major repairs because of lack of spareparts. A total of 200 others were found in a state of disrepair.

The agreement for the supply of the spareparts was concluded in March 1981 by the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Mr Samwiri Mugwisa, with a Novi Sad based manufacturing firm during a trade fair in Yugoslavia.

The firm which started in 1956 under Marssey Fergusson, will send technical manpower to carry out the repairs for six months and train Ugandan counterparts in the servicing and maintenance of the fleet.

The firm's Eastern Africa representative, Mr Besnilov Miodrag-Mile, will formally hand over the spares to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, Mr Jacob Ogwang today.

Meanwhile, Mr Ogwang, has said that negotiations were underway with the IMT tractor firm to supply another fleet of 400.

Talks were underway between Uganda and Yugoslavia for the establishment of a complex maize farm near Masindi Port.

Feasibility studies for the 4,000 hectare farm to grow maize, soya bean, sunflower, and factory to process the produce had been completed.

"We have the potential for growing soya beans. This crop will help us improve the production of animal feeds," he said.

He said plans were also underway to rehabilitate agricultural institutions. The European Economic Community (EEC) has provided funds, part of which will be used in the training of farmers and agricultural extension staff.

The USA government has also indicated it will provide assistance for the rehabilitation of seven district farm institutes.

Mr Ogwang added that the British government has financed a cotton production project in Budaka and Kibuku in Tororo District.

The 300,000 pound grant has been spent on the purchase of 25,000 litres of ripcord chemical for spraying 50,000 hoes, and 40 bicycles.

Ripcord, a Shell Chemicals Ltd product is new and the manufacturing firm has employed 35 field staff to supervise the project.

CSO: 4700/1778

NEW BANKING SYSTEM TO BE ADOPTED

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 20 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Joshua Rubongoya and Tom Okello]

[Text] New changes are to be introduced in Uganda's banking system, the President and Minister of Finance, Dr A. Milton Obote announced in Kampala yesterday.

The changes include the introduction of Internal Travellers' Cheque system.

The President was opening bank managers' seminar at the International Conference Centre, Kampala.

The aim of the new system was to expand banking services to the rural areas and cater for the rural population who accounted for 90 per cent of the productive sector.

Dr Obote also announced changes in the bank licencing policy and intention to allow overseas banks to open branches in Uganda without being impeded by local incorporation.

He said the Banking Act 1966 and other laws would be amended to cater for the new conditions.

On the theme of the seminar: "banking in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Uganda" Dr Obote said it defined the nature of problems facing the country. "It reminds us of a flaw in the economy and the urgent need to correct it.

"I trust that in this seminar you will discuss urgent measures to ensure development of agriculture, agro-based industries, trade and business," he said.

The solution to Uganda's present problems required political leadership with vision and commitment to policies designed to overcome the economic ills, the President said.

On the foreign aid Dr Obote noted that the government had deposited locally and internationally everything required for reconstruction and rehabilitation. But he warned of the increasing difficulties of the third world countries to negotiate for loans and grants, due to the hard conditions posed by the foreign donors.

He paid tribute to foreign countries and donor agencies which had assisted Uganda.

On insecurity in some parts of the country he said the origin was political and not violation of human rights by government organs as expressed by some international news media.

Dr Obote lashed out at groups involved in banditry, who viewed stability in Uganda as their greatest enemy. He deplored the bandits' habit of distributing fake pamphlets to foreign embassies in the country purporting that Uganda security forces were murdering people after they themselves had acutally killed the people who had not obeyed bandits' leaflet orders to evacuate areas of their operations.

Commenting on some foreign media reports on Uganda, Dr Obote said a year ago the international media reported that bandits were in charge of West Nile but now that stability had been established no reports had been issued by them on the prevailing peaceful situation there.

The international media contribute in this way to perpetuate insecurity in Uganda, he added.

The Governor of Bank of Uganda, Mr Leo Kibirango pledged determination of the Institute of Bankers to mobilise resources to finance Uganda's development efforts by playing a positive role in the recovery process.

He outlined the fundamental objectives of the Seminar as a forum for bank executives, to share experiences and knowledge acquired in their respective technical and management roles.

The governor said that amidst the deteriorating economic environment created by the military dictatorship, the banking industry could only survive by persisting with its traditional approach to lending and investing surplus funds into treasury Bills and government stocks.

Against this background a development finance department was established recently in the Bank of Uganda.

The department is intended to provide among other things, refinance facilities to commercial banks and guarantee loans given by banks to small scale industries under credit guarantee scheme.

CSO: 4700/1778

HYBRID MAIZE REPORTED BECOMING MAJOR FOOD CROP

Kampala SUNDAY TIMES in English 29 Aug 82 p 7

[Article by Edward Lwanga]

[Excerpts] Hybrid maize is about ten years in Uganda. However, soon it became one of the country's major food crops in addition to matooke and finger millet. With the country's suitable climate all its needs is good husbandry practices.

The biggest limitations so far facing the growing of hybrid maize in Uganda is lack of certified seeds from some of our research stations and seed multiplication schemes. However, the Government has tried to purchase some rations known as "white star" from Kenya.

According to the Agricultural Extension Officer who preferred anonymity, hybrid maize from Kenya performs well in our ecological environment and the crop offers a big substitute in both human and animal nutrition.

Hybrid maize which is coloured green has a better performance than local maize breed. Hybrid maize has a shorter gestation period (less than six months) while local maize has nine months.

The Uganda maize is usually a victim of a virus disease known as "maize streak." This is always characterised by strips yellowing of leaves accompanied by retarded growth. Hygienic sanitation can, however, be a good solution to the problem. But early planting is the best control measure.

Apart from getting maize flour (posho) out of the maize grain, the crop contains 10 per cent crude oil which can be extracted from the grain seed under pressure. It can serve as pure cooking oil. This oil is the best of all from the plant origin.

The new hybrid seeds have gained momentum in Uganda both to large scale farming and peasant farming.

With the favourable natural climate and given the right kinds of seeds in time, there is no doubt that hybrid maize will at one time take over the growing of export crops like matooke and finger millet.

CSO: 4700/1778

## HOUSING POLICY OUTLINED

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 27 Aug 82 p 1

[Text] **INDIVIDUALS** wishing to build personal houses should be allocated land in the peri-urban areas to avail land in the cities for other projects, Prime Minister Mundia has directed.

The Government would like to discourage the mushrooming of shanty townships by building better houses for the working population.

Mr Mundia issued the directive in Lusaka yesterday when he toured the mass media complex and the area around it which is earmarked for various Government projects including housing units.

Mr Mundia instructed the National Housing Authority in conjunction with building contractors to set an example in building decent and cheaper houses for Government workers.

The houses should have at least three to four bedrooms and be decent enough for human occupation.

He said: "We have got no more time for shanty compounds. We need proper houses with three to four bedrooms."

Individuals who needed more land on which to build personal houses should "go back to the land" and leave room for workers.

"All individuals who want more land should be given five to ten hectares in peri-urban areas so that they can grow food to feed people".

### Space

He asked the Commission of Lands to see to it that no extension of individual houses was made to the area around Chainama up to the supermarket.

Designers should make sure that they left enough space from the road for traffic purposes.

Visitors should distinguish houses built by the National Housing Authority from those built and owned by individuals.

Turning to workers, he said the Government would build houses for ZBS, Zana and ZIS staff in the space at the complex to alleviate transport problems they were facing because of living far away from their working places.

The Prime Minister ordered the Commission of Lands to stop allocating plots within the areas around the complex to individuals as this was reserved for Government staff housing schemes.

He told local government engineers, planners and Lusaka district authorities that the land opposite Chainama Hospital should be developed for attractive flats and houses to impress visitors driving along the Great East Road from the International Airport.

"We don't want to have new shanties along the road and other urban areas, and allowing individuals to build self-styled houses in urban areas is tantamount to promoting the mushrooming of shanties."

The houses for the staff at the mass media complex site would be built by the Ministry of Works and Supply while those opposite Chainama Hospital would be built by the Youth Brigade builders and National Housing Authority.

The idea was to put the houses and flats up as cheaply as possible.

He also visited the flats being built for the staff of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) and Copper Producing and Exporting Countries (CIPPEC) close to the Zambia State Insurance Corporation (ZSIC) flats in Rhodes Park.

He urged the foreman there to work flat out as the two organisations would be opening their offices in Lusaka in the next two months.

Mr Mundia was accompanied on the tour by Ministers of Information and Broadcasting, and Works and Supply Mr Mark Tambatamba and Mr Haswell Mwale respectively, permanent secretary for Information and Broadcasting Mr Edward Lubinda and Mr George Pelekamoyo Lusaka Province permanent secretary and Lusaka council officials.

JUDICIARY PRAISED FOR RELEASE OF DETAINEES

Lusaka DAILY TIMES in English 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text]

**JUSTIFIABLY** Zambia will today be agog in wild jubilation and euphoric congratulations over the speedy, dramatic ultimate release from detention on Friday of the four men who were acquitted of treason by the Lusaka High Court on Wednesday.

The lucky four are lawyer Mundia Sikatana, Zambia Army Major MacPherson Mbulo, Army Colonel Patrick Mkandawire and former brigadier-general Godfrey Miyanda. To them we say hearty congratulations for regaining your individual freedoms.

Their victory is a living testimony to the nation's value of fair trials under an independent and free judiciary. It is also a victory for President Kaunda in the speedy manner in which he revoked the special detention orders after the High Court had acquitted the four men.

His action shows a great respect for the due process of law and the judiciary in this country. It proves, yet again, that in Zambia, and under Dr Kaunda's leadership, the rule of law is still the king of all.

Hard pressed as she has been since Independence in 1964, Zambia can today proudly boast that the rule of law prevails. That and the independence of the judiciary is one of the cornerstones of the stability that Zambia still enjoys.

The release of the four men has clearly shown that Zambia is one of the few countries in the world where it can be seen that political pressures do not impede justice.

When, for reasons of national security, the State is forced to arrest or detain individuals, these people know that they have the right to have recourse to the courts. Many have done so. Some have lost. Others, like the lucky four, have won.

**What is important is that the right to challenge the State in open court not only exists, but that the right is exercised. That is the democratic way and it is the way Zambians must all strive to uphold, whether it means the arrest and subsequent release of a minister, or anybody at all. That is justice.**

CSO: 4700/1899

END